THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

A Weekly Newspaper Established In 1917

June 14, 1947

STOP THE JAPS!

AN EDITORIAL

Student Demonstrations Analyzed

By Charles J. Canning

REVIEW'S 30 YEARS

AN EDITORIAL

Common Man's "Peace Formula"

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AN EDITORIAL

VOLUME 106 PRICE CNC$4,000 NUMBER 2

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

Nazis In China

To The Editor:

I would like to congratulate you for your fine article, "Sanctuary For Nazis," which appeared in the June 7 issue of the *Review*. Those of us who have watched "Top Nazis" avoid each repatriation ship have long felt that some publicity might be beneficial.

I would like to make one suggestion, though. It appeared that you were leaning over backward to present a restrained picture of the situation. Actually, it is much worse than you say. I know the names of at least 25 additional Nazis who should be repatriated to Germany where, as you say, some "may face denazification courts and where a watchful eye may be kept upon them."

ANTI-NAZI.

Shanghai,
June 9, 1947.

Dry Bread!

To The Editor:

Your editorial on Nazi affairs in China (*Review*, June 7) was very interesting indeed. But to many people it was dry bread rather than a nice sandwich. I should like to list my objections:

(1) While so many top Nazis are still in China, who is guaranteeing that in case of another evacuation it will not again be the non-Nazis, the anti-Nazis and the nobodies who will be shipped home whereas the real Hitlerites remain where they are, namely, under the protection of mighty officials and families?

Can you vouch for justice? Can you make yourself responsible for new injustice? Can you guarantee that those among the Germans who for years were considered black sheep by the Hitlerites will not be the ones to suffer from an eventual new evacuation?

(2) On your list, I find one single Austrian, but what about the other Austrian Nazis? Are they to be considered Victims of Nazism? Is that Austrian doctor who for years kept a leading position in the S. A. now again a neutral?

(3) Speaking of doctors, you mentioned Dr. Daust, former boss of the Paulun Hospital, now lecturing, so far as I know, in Hankow. A top Nazi, he was sent here during the war to "reorganize" the German medical service and is said to have been in close touch with the Gestapo. Why not ask him about the mysterious death in the Paulun Hospital of Dr. Miorini, rumored to have been killed by or by order of the Gestapo?

(4) What about those mysterious meetings of I.G. men and Bayer top men in Switzerland? Do you think that by any chance the I.G., dissolved in Germany, will continue to work in and export finished goods from China, while their business center will be in Switzerland? If something like that is in the making, do you really believe that in the case of another repatriation any I.G. Nazis will be sent away? Do you not think that they will do all in their power to be substituted by a dozen or two harmless clerks and such anti-Nazis as they could not get rid of during the war?

P. T. M.

Shanghai,
June 8, 1947.

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Medicine Bitter!

To The Editor:

I am very sorry to read that your editorials on "Taiwan's Bloodbath" and "China's Courts" in recent issues of the *Review* have offended many Government officials. In recognition of your good work, we really patriotic Chinese offer you our hearty congratulations for your future success. It is universally admitted that truth does not sound pleasant to the ears of the victims of circumstances nor does bitter medicine taste sweet to the sick.

One of the chief causes of China's backwardness is that most super Chinese bosses do not welcome even constructive criticism or a different point of view from their own when their work is concerned. All big bosses are surrounded by "yes" men who dare not express an opposing view openly lest they should offend their superiors. The more boots one licks and the more one flatters, the higher one can climb up the ladder of materialistic success. Honesty simply does not pay and real Christianity is sidetracked.

Confucius says that faults which are committed and not immediately rectified are really faults. Do Government officials rectify their faults? In my daily contact with all classes of society, I seldom have seen one who committed a wrong and admitted it by saying to himself: "I must try to improve myself, and do what is good for me and China." "Know thyself," is a golden rule. But how many of us know ourselves?

China will never make much progress or improve herself unless we examine our conduct thrice daily and seek constructive criticism with eager ears. One of the best ways to handle a fault-committer is to raise him skywards and then let him fall by his own velocity! A seeker of truth or a real Christian cannot do such a thing.

Mr. Editor, speak the truth and the truth shall free you. All real patriotic Chinese are behind you! Stick to the truth and let those who are opposed to your constructive criticism die a natural death, for you love the Chinese masses, not a handful of unscrupulous Government officials.

LEE YEE-YUEN.

Shanghai,
May 28, 1947.

Pot & Kettle!

To The Editor:

Ever since V-J Day, the policy of our government at Nanking has been concentrated on the suppression of the Communists. The Communists are the greatest threat to the Kuomintang domination of China. If that domination is to continue, the Communists must be brought under control.

A great fuss was made about the distinction between civil war and internal rebellion. The KMT authorities insisted that their war against the Communists was a necessary expedition to put down an internal rebellion. When the students at Kunming called it a civil war and demanded its termination, they were manhandled and persecuted, resulting in the death of several students.

The KMT authorities have been waging at the same time an external military war against the Communists and an internal literal war against the students. They have been making little headway in either case, for the students in all large cities of China are now openly clamoring for the cessation of the meaningless civil war which is fast spelling ruin and destruction for China.

It is assuredly true that the Communists are irreconcilable rebels against the KMT government at Nanking. But the Nanking Government, in doing its best to suppress the Communists, has forgotten its own duties towards to the Chinese people who are, after all, the real masters of China. The policy of the Nanking government towards the Chinese people may be summed up as reckless propaganda against truth and ruthless terrorism against freedom.

I must say, reluctantly, that the KMT government at Nanking is committing the very same crime against its masters which they charge the Communists are committing against them.

F. D. Z.

Shanghai,
May 28, 1947.

Criticism Resented

To The Editor:

Being an old friend of your father's for the past 30 years, I always consider myself as part of the *Review*, and have its welfare at heart, rejoicing with its prosperity and being depressed when conditions are otherwise.

Your recent editorials on the Chinese Government organs have aroused much resentment among Government officials. You know, most Chinese don't welcome criticism even when it is constructive. They will remember your remarks as long as they live, even when they know they are in the wrong. This is one of the reasons why China cannot be progressive.

Not only your editorials, but also your printed articles, news items and letters to the editor are unfavorable and, as far as the Government is concerned, should not be printed too conspicuously, if at all. An old saying goes that "While in Rome, do as the Romans do."

I sincerely hope you will think this over and see whether my advice is right or not. With best wishes for your continued success.

A CHINESE FRIEND.

Shanghai,
June 9, 1947.

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CNRRA Accused

To The Edior:

It is a shameful thing for me, a Chinese, that I have no other place to speak except in your *Review*. But now I have to speak because I can no longer endure to see what the so-called CNRRA is doing here.

Last week, it was announced that every student studying in middle school or college would be allotted five yards of cloth by CNRRA. But, strangely enough, all we received was a little more than two yards. According to an officer of CNRRA, the reason for this was because the Preparatory Class of the National Sun Yat-sen University, which I attend, is neither a middle school nor a college. Whether this reasoning is just or not I leave to public judgment.

Recently it was learned that rice would be allotted to private schools if the headmaster would be content to receive four tons but sign a receipt for 20 tons! In this case, 16 tons go to the CNRRA officers concerned. It is said that many petitions have been refused because the schoolmasters would not agree. Surely there is a better use for this rice other than lining the pockets of the CNRRA officials.

K. K. C.

Canton,
June 2, 1947.

Fair Play

To The Editor:

With reference to a letter published under the title "Chen Yi's Successor" in the May 24 issue, I beg to state a few points:

(1) "Dr. Wei, a French educated man who owed his rise to Dr. Wang Chung-hui and Miss Somme Cheng (Madame Wei Tao-min.)" On what authority and source are the above remarks made? Would such personal slander not be liable to libel action? Even if true, the attack is mean and ungentlemanly. Mr. Wei was brilliant enough to get a Doctor's Degree, able enough to be Minister of Justice at 30, Blueshirts, agent (brain trust), ambassador, etc. Needless to say, he owes his rise to himself.

(2) "The *Wah Shiang Pao*, pro-leftist daily in Hongkong, claimed that Dr. Wei Tao-min's records in Tai Li's secret police system's office were the chief reasons for his present appointment. It was alleged that Dr. Wei was the brain trust of the Blueshirts' organization and that he was responsible for the laws and rules of this dreadful Gestapo. It was further stated that Dr. Wei was actually China's Blueshirts' chief agent in the United States while serving outwardly as Chinese Ambassador to America."

"Claimed," "Alleged," "Further Stated!" Why not say "unreliably reported," "it is rumored," "is is believed," etc., of which reporters have unlimited stocks? Everybody in South China knows that the *Wah Shiang Pao* is Communist China Reds' Sixth Column. If what our Taiwanese friend states is true, he certainly beat the FBI, Hoover and all American intelligence services. What a revelation: "Chinese Ambassador Actually Blueshirts' Chief Agent." Furthermore, what does Tsai Wen-kai know about secret service, Blueshirts, Gestapo, NKVD, FBI, Scotland Yard, Kempetai, etc., etc.? I venture, not much.

(3) "I do not quote this historical data to discredit my Governor and Secretary-General." What "historical data?" I suppose this is a case where a writer uses words he doesn't understand.

(4) "I know, also, that Hongkong's "Admiral" of the South China Navy and the Chief of the Central District Bureau, most anti-Anglo-American in the days of

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Mikado, are expected to remain in Taiwan under the new Governor, etc." Why not take the matter up with the Hongkong Taiwanese Association? Or, perhaps, the above were Blueshirts sent to the Mikado's regime?

(5) "I hope what has been published about Dr. Wei and secretary General Hsu is just sheer nonsense." I would suggest that the writer of the above lines would do better by not repeating "sheer nonsense"—something he doesn't believe or cannot back up.

((6) I suppose Mr. Tsai Wen-kai imagines that, as he is living in "Kowloon, Hongkong," he is therefore free from fear of C. C. agents, Blueshirts and Kuomintang reactionaries and at liberty to "bite" and "bark" for reasons known only to himself. Also, may I add, that according to "historical data" Kowloon is Kowloon, Hongkong is Hongkong and not "Kowloon, Hongkong," as stated.

(7) Biographical data: I am a Kwangtung man, no relative of Dr. Wei, no KMT member, no Blueshirt, no seeker of jobs but one who stands for fair play.

Y. L. KONG.

Chungshan, Kwangtung,
May 29, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—We have examined the letter from Mr. Tsai Wen-kai, and find that the REVIEW is responsible for changing the address from Kowloon, to Kowloon, Hongkong. Our apologies to Mr. Tsai Wen-kai and Mr. Y. L. Kong.)

Mastery Of Asia

To The Editor:

I have been a reader of your *Review* since 1939. I first began to read your magazine in Shanghai when I was a student in a college which selected the *Review* as the English textbook for high classes. This period lasted for two years.

To my regret, since leaving school to earn a living, the instability of my job prevents me from becoming a subscriber. However, no matter where I am I always try to find your magazine in the bookstores and buy a copy. The letters to the editor as well as the editorials in every issue attract much of my attention, and I spare time to read them with care. They come from readers of different professions, representing different opinions, exposing worthy ideas and sometimes revealing zealous discussions on political and social problems.

In a letter to the editor under the caption, "More Chinese Articles" in the May 17 issue, the writer says that to publish so many articles concerning Japan in the *Review* will convert it into "The Japan and China Weekly Review." If that were the case, those papers bearing the names of certain cities, such as *'North-China Daily News,' New York Times, Washington Post*, etc. would publish no topic other than what is related to their own individual districts. Though I am not a journalist, I do not believe this.

The writer further opines that "we Chinese people are not much interested in the Japs now." But I wonder whether the "Japs" here represent the Japanese people or the Japanese government or both. For what reason are we Chinese people not interested in the Japs? Is it because they are our past enemies? Or because they have lost the war and are now under occupation control? Maybe the writer is right, but I do not wholly agree with him.

During this unparalelled chaotic period in China, we should, besides learning our own national affairs, acquire a thorough knowledge of the international situation and of what is going on around us, so as to improve ourselves by adopting other peoples' virtues. There is a Chinese saying: "Appreciate yourself as well as your opponent and you will win a hundred wars."

In spite of the fact that China, having been a member of the Allies and having participated in the war that brought about the ruination of Japanese militarism, is a victorious nation and Japan a subjugated one, the former is deteriorating fast while the latter, under the guidance of General MacArthur, is now prosperous and progressing rapidly. In the almost two years since V-J Day, China has been stepping gradually down the gloomy path of political confusion, economic bankruptcy and financial poverty. Simultaneously, Japan has been systematically developing her foreign trade towards its prewar standard. Moreover, civil war still exists in China but not in Japan.

In short, we Chinese people are still suffering from civil war, while most of the Japanese people are able to live peacefully. Comparing our conditions with those in Japan, we Chinese should be very ashamed to be a victorious nation. So I suggest that a few topics dealing with Japanese current affairs will serve as an effective reflection upon China.

Finally, I pray the newly-reorganized government will carefully inspect the present circumstances, end the large-scale suicidal civil war and concentrate all the national resources and manpower to effectuate the great task of national reconstruction. Otherwise the future Asiatic masterdom will be taken away from us by the Japs.

W. K. YAM.

Hankow, Hupeh,
May 29, 1947.

Snafu

To The Editor:

Will you kindly give the meaning of the following words: grass-roots, know-how, snafu, witchunt?

K. S. C.

Shanghai,
May 26, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—The term "grass-roots democracy" implies a very simple and honest form of democracy to be found in such farming and agricultural areas in the United States as Kansas; know-how usually applies to both technical, theoretical and practical knowledge; snafu was a cynical expression used by members of the U.S. Armed Forces, the initials of which stand for Situation Normal All Fouled Up; witchhunt today usually means a political persecution.)

"Who's Who"

To The Editor:

Three weeks ago I sent you a letter to give some suggestions concerning the column "Who's Who in China" in your esteemed *Review*. My letter was published in the May 17 issue.

When I received that issue and saw that my letter was published I was very pleased and thought that perhaps you had accepted my suggestions. Yet in the May 24 and 31 issues not the slightest change was made in the above-mentioned column. This surprised me very much. If a letter deals with any other subject, not closely related to *The Review*, you publish it without saying a word. But here is a question dealing with *The Review* itself and you disregard it completely (I am sorry to say that up till now I still have not discovered anything unreasonable or unacceptable in my proposed changes). If you don't agree with my changes, you could at least explain why. Or else you could have said that if my proposal is seconded by other readers you would consider it. But this was not the case. As a matter of fact, I am convinced that many of your readers, if not the majority, will agree with me on the changes I suggested.

Please excuse me, but I would like to repeat that I can really find nothing interesting in your descriptions. I am ashamed now that my letter was published as it didn't seem to receive any attention.

WANG TEI-MIN.

Shanghai,
June 2, 1947.

(EDITOR'S NOTE:—"Who's Who In China" has been a feature of The Review for so long that the editor, while appreciative of the sincerity of the criticism voiced against the inclusion of certain laudatory autobiographies, has felt it advisable to delay a decision in the matter, at any rate for the time being. We are sorry Mr. Wang is chagrined, but we assure him we welcome his and other readers' letters and criticisms as well as suggestions.)

Infanticide

To The Editor:

Out of poverty anything may come to pass, even infanticide. Mr. Hu Huehhao, section chief of Honan Provincial Government, had an only child, three years old. His wife, a graduate of senior normal school, devoted herself to bringing up her child and to domestic affairs from morning until night, being unable to afford an amah to help her. Due to the jumping commodity prices, the couple found it impossible to make ends meet. They were not able to afford even the monthly rent for their shelter, and the landlord often exacted payment so severe as to be beyond his tenants' endurance.

On May 20, the landlord again insisted upon immediate payment, in such an inhumane fashion that Mrs. Hu could stand it no longer, and became so distraught that she dashed her child violently against the ground: tragically the innocent little one returned to the dust.

What kind of a world is this? The shadow of terror looms over employees: school teachers, civil servants, and laborers who have no houses. As everyone must have shelter from the rain and the sun, so everyone must rent a room. But since V-J Day, it is the custom in Kaifeng for the lessee of a single room to pay one bag of flour or CNC$10,000. If a family rents three rooms the cost is CNC$30,000. In addition to buying food and clothing such an amount is more than three-fourths of the average employee's income. To find shelter is more difficult than to find a job.

The prices of commodities are soaring in proportion to the intensity of the fratricidal war, so it is not impossible that everybody's wife will become beside herself at the expense of innocent little lives.

Is the last day of the world at hand?

IVAN THE FOOL.

Kaifeng, Honan,
May 26, 1947.

English Deficient

To The Editor:

I have been a *Review* reader for the past 20 years, and am much delighted to read such nicely written letters from its readers, particularly those written by Chinese in the Letters From The People column. I presume most of your Chinese correspondents are not returned men, upon whom I bestow my laurels.

In contrast with the many so-called returned men who are unable to read or write simple English, I believe many Chinese readers of the *Review* could teach them English. I have daily contact with men who have supposedly been educated abroad and yet are unable to speak or write proper English.

The "old-timers" are all right, but those who graduated from local colleges and spent a few months or a year abroad cannot even read the newspapers. When they become college professors they dis-

like the use of English textbooks and discard them under the pretext of patriotism. Even in English classes they don't speak a word of English! They even refuse to read English books for reference. As a result of this peculiar display of pseudo-patriotism, most students nowadays after graduating from senior middle school do not have the same standard as those who graduated from junior middle school 15 years ago. Whose fault is this?

English is not put into practice in English classes, either in speaking or in writing. What is called exercise work simply consists of filling blank spaces with correct words or phrases in a mechanical manner, without the students being told the reason for it all.

I know many good English teachers who have left the profession not only because it does not pay, but also because they cannot enforce a correct method of teaching English. Nowadays a good English teacher is one who adapts himself to existing conditions, ignoring how much English he knows.

What the students want is to be given the meaning of each and every word, sentence by sentence, and an explanation and then a translation in good literary Chinese. In this way, after finishing a textbook, a student may not understand a single sentence outside of his own textbook.

The Ministry of Education should install a new curriculum in all schools, either abolishing English entirely or stiffening the course to such an extent that after graduating from senior middle school students will be able to speak English fluently and write correctly.

From my own observations, I am afraid very few local college graduates are able to take notes and read reference books in foreign colleges, except those from mission schools. Educated classes the world over can speak and write English as well as their mother tongue and our Chinese should not fall behind the modern world. Let the pseudo-patriotic English teachers die a natural death in China.

AN OLD-TIMER.

Shanghai,
June 8, 1947.

Terror In Honan

To The Edior:

After the whole body of National Honan University, in a mass demonstration, bade farewell on May 22 to their petitioning representatives who were to take a message to Nanking requesting: (1) salary increase for professors, (2) additional food subsidy for students, (3) cessation of the civil war, and (4) permanent peace and real democracy, Honan political and military authorities were greatly frightened.

On the morning of May 27, the university was suddenly surrounded by armed soldiers, police and "special service men" with the result that, under the guidance of the "special students" who had been sent to the university to study by the Youth Army last year, more than 40 so-called "democratic, progressive and liberal" students were arrested and put into a specially prepared truck and carried away.

On June 1, an urgent emergency curfew law was enforced. An atmosphere of terror reigned over the whole city. Armed "special men" arrested 45 citizens, including seven journalists:

(1) Mr. Li Hsin-lin, special correspondent *of Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai, and concurrently Editor of *Lih Hsing Jih Pao*.

(2) Mr. Chao Huei-shen (penname: Li Juei), famous prose and short story writer, special correspondent of *Ta Kung Pao*, Shanghai, and concurrently Chief Editor of *China Times*.

(3) Mr. Wang Man-lo, special correspondent of *South East Daily News* and concurrently chief editor of *Lih Hsing Jih Pao*.

(4) Mr. Sun Liang-tien, editor of *China Times*.

(5) Mr. Liu Shih-ming, chief editor of *Min Chuan News*.

(6) Mr. Liang Feng, editor of *China Times*.

(7) Mr. Liu Chun-sze, editor of *Industrial and Commercial Daily News*.

Also among the citizens arrested were: Mr. Lo Shang-wu, dean of Pei Tsang Girls' Middle School, formerly lecturer of Fuhtan University, Shanghai; Miss Yang, teacher at Pei Ts'ang Girls' Middle School and more than 10 Honan University students. It is said that probably Mr. Chi Wen-fu, famous scholar of philosophy and history and professor at Honan University, also was arrested.

On May 31, a demonstration was organized by the soldiers of the Honan Safety Preservation Army who shouted such slogans as. "Oppose June 2 Strike!" "Annihilate Reds!" "Protect the Four Big Families!" etc., and when the demonstration passed by Honan University, the sound "Kill! Kill! Kill!" penetrated through the clouds. The demonstration was a prelude to the "June 1 Event."

C. Y. CHANG.

Kaifeng, Honan,
June 1, 1947.

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586 Professors

To The Editor:

Below is the official translation of the declaration signed by 586 professors and members of the staff of different universities in North China:

"A declaration of opposition to civil war, and an appeal for peace, has been issued by 586 professors and staff members in the universities and colleges of North China, including National Tsinghua University, National Peking University, Yenching University, National Normal College, National Fine Arts College, Sino-French University, National Nankai University and National Peiyang University. It appeared in the North China papers of May 29.

* * *

"DURING recent weeks commodity prices have increased by leaps and bounds, and popular excitement has mounted high. In Nanking, Shanghai, Peiping, Tientsin and other places throughout China, disturbances have been continuous. Rice riots have broken out, while workers, students, and even professors have gone on strike in different places. Disaster appears imminent if there is no drastic change in the situation.

"We are engaged in educational and cultural pursuits and ordinarily do not concern ourselves with political affairs. But today we are witnessing a tempest of economic collapse and civil war, which will not only plunge great masses of people into utmost ruin, but will annihilate our hopes for the future, and even the possibility of national and cultural survival. The situation is no less critical than that in France on the eve of the French Revolution, or that in Russia just preceding the October Revolution. At a time like this it is impossible to keep silence. We feel we must meet the issue squarely and call upon the whole nation to rise in one great effort to rescue China.

"We are thoroughly convinced that our present troubles all stem from the economic crisis, which itself is the result of prolonged civil war. Of such a situation riots and strikes are the inevitable outcome. We are on the verge of political, military, economic and cultural collapse. Disaster is at our very door. If the government continues to meet the situation with evasion and procrastination, and refuses to take decisive, effective measures, there can be only one result—total ruin for all of us. Difficulties cannot be overcome, but only magnified by prolonging the civil war. If the party, the government and the army wish to save themselves as well as the people, the only way out is to stop the civil war, to negotiate for peace with the utmost sincerity, and to organize immediately a coalition government in accordance with the principles laid down by the Political Consultative Conference. There is no alternative.

"We realize that the making of peace must be bilateral. An appeal for peace from the masses can best be made to both sides. But since we live in territory under the control of the government armies, all we can do is to unite all the people in this area in a struggle for peace. We earnestly hope that both sides will make a most determined effort in this direction. To evade this vital issue is to lose the final opportunity."

CHING-YUEN YEN,
Professor, Yenching University.

Peiping,
May 31, 1947.

Innocent Abroad?

To The Editor:

These days when the U.S. is restudying the China situation, it would seem more important than ever that factual reports by competent observers out here be made

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available so as to help form U.S. public opinion correctly and realistically. For if the new U.S. policy is based on false information it is going to prove disastrous not only for the Chinese but for every foreign enterprise out here, whether business, professional or missionary.

One of the finest and most powerful articles you have printed recently is that of the American Catholic News correspondent, Father O'Connor, a masterpiece of fact-gathering which can be readily substantiated by hundreds and hundreds of reliable witnesses. Let us hope it has opened the eyes of many intelligent U.S. people who have been too long bamboozled by leftist propaganda that the Chinese Reds are sincere land reformers, and not real Reds at all. The truth is, of course, that in China, as in Russia and Yugoslavia and Italy, etc., *A RED IS A RED IS A RED IS A RED.*

But in the same issue—well, when your readers get fed up with the harsh realities of daily life and want to get away from it all, out of this world and into the never-never land of dreams and visions, I would recommend as superior to both the Brothers Grimm and Hans Christian Anderson, your other correspondent, Vic Schneierson. His idealistic "report" on conditions in Chefoo had the undersigned guessing for a while, until he took the trouble to get in touch with people who had been in Chefoo before and after the coming of the Reds; and believe me, poor Chefoo today is more like a hell than a heaven. If you analyze Mr. Schneierson's report you will see it could have been written right here in Shanghai from propaganda releases made by local Reds. It didn't tell us what we wanted to know: how conditions really are in Chefoo, but only what Communist authorities there *said* they were—which isn't the same thing.

For the highest Soviet authorities have preached deliberate falsehoods as perfectly O.K. so long as it promotes the interests of the party. Mr. Schneierson swallowed hook, line and sinker, the Red statement that foreign capital would be welcomed. Of course, it would—but it would be confiscated immediately, for they need it. He says nothing about meeting any of the foreign groups there, who are held virtually as prisoners. Did he try to interview them? If that was forbidden, why didn't he tell us so?

On the authority of people who have been there and need no interpreter—misinterpreter would be the proper word, I'm afraid, for the one who has been giving your correspondent his inside "information"—not even a foreigner would dare to tell the grim truth to a visiting correspondent for fear of inhuman reprisals next day.

If Mr. Schneierson is going to continue these "innocent abroad" reports about how lovely things are in the land of the Red landlords, he should get them published, not in China, where too many people know the facts, but in some faraway land where they don't. Let's hope that in a matter so vital at the present time as the real conditions prevailing in Red China, our American authorities will have better sense than to believe men like Mr. Schneierson.

F. J.

Shanghai,
June 4, 1947.

How It All Started!

To The Editor:

Never in all history can we find a government so cruel, stupid and corrupt as the present Chinese Government. I cannot but pity the people who were born to be the Chinese of today.

In every democratic nation there must at least be freedom of speech, freedom of publication, freedom of assembly. These are the fundamental freedoms that must be granted to the people.

The present Government has more than once declared its intention to grant these freedoms to the people, but they were never admitted to practice. In this country all these freedoms are nothing but ornaments of the constitution. In fact we have been denrived of these freedoms.

Recently, we, the college students, have been striking for more than two weeks for an increase in our food allowance and for the cessation of the civil war which has utterly exhausted the resources of the country.

On May 16 we had even made an application to the Government for our demands, but with no result. Immediately afterwards, the Government published the so-called "Emergency Measure" which announced that if people wished to make applications, the participants should number no more than 10 persons and the demonstrations, which the Government deems to be harmful to the security of society, could be disbanded forcibly, if necessary.

But in spite of this regulation we decided to demonstrate and at the same time send delegates to the People's Political Council and Executive Yuan to make an application for the above demands on May 20, the day on which the PPC held its first meeting. On the morning of May 20, while we were assembling, we found that the police and military had surrounded our front gate in an effort to check us. So we went out by the West Gate without hindrance.

Meanwhile, we were informed that the Nanking University and other colleges had met with the same difficulty. Students of some colleges dashed through the group of policemen and military and joined the parade. Students in smaller colleges, because of their small number, were easily checked by the police.

When our parade arrived at Chu-Kiang

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Road, we came across a line of defense five-men deep consisting of police, rifle squads, military police and PPC squads, barring our way to the National Assembly Hall. After several minutes of argument, we made a concerted rush, broke through the lines and pushed our way through down the main street in the face of the water turned on us from hoses. The police then began using three-foot long clubs in an effort to check us, and we were beaten cruelly about our heads backs and ribs. Those who were separated from the parade received heavy punishment as the police clouted them with belts, stones and nail-studded staves.

One by one the students, both boys and girls, fell to the ground covered with blood. Some bystanders and journalists, who were taking photographs, were also beaten up. Most of the passersby were moved to tears by the awful spectacle. Many students were carted away by the "Special Police."

As a result of the clouting, three students were seriously injured. One girl's skull was fractured and the legs of two college boys were broken. Forty-one students were less seriously injured. Students arrested numbered 12.

After this terrible incident, a doctor of the Central Hospital told us that the preceding night they had received an emergency order from some quarters that some 100 beds for patients should be prepared immediately. We didn't know that they had planned the beating on the eve of the parade!

Is this what they call the 'Emergency Measure?" Is this what they call real democracy? Is this the spirit of the newly-published constitution?

Everyone knows that the civil war is suicide and will have no results other than hunger and death! We would rather give up our lives in the war of resistance than suffer even sligatly from the civil war, which is only to the interest of a handful of people. For the sake of the future of Chinese education, for the sake of China, we appeal to the two sides for the cessation of the civil war. We only want to say what workers, peasants, soldiers, as well as teachers and employees, dare not say. But the Government declared that we were inspired by the Communists. The people's eyes are very bright. They can tell who is right and who is wrong. We leave the matter to the judgment of the public. We warn here that any party that wishes to go on fighting the civil war will soon be abandoned by the people. We believe that victory must belong to the people.

HOPKIN CHANG.

Nanking,
June 1, 1947.

Sad Situation

To The Editor:

As a Chinese student, I can not and will not keep silent about the tide of students' strikes occuring in almost every university in China recently. It began with the "Eat All Movement" raised by the National Central University which was echoed by many famous universities. I sympathize with the movement, not because I am a student, but because I am a being with feeling and conscience.

Indeed, the student situation is difficult at present. If you would take any university of China as an example, you would wonder if it really were an institution of learning. In the library there are not enough books for reference purposes. In the laboratory there is no equipment for experiments. Moreover, the rice and vegetables we are given to eat are very bad and consequently the students suffer from ill health.

Why is the Ministry of Education blind to this fact?

K. C. SHA.

Wusih, Kiangsu,
June 2, 1947.

Hoping Hard

To The Editor:

I went to Peiping last week on some matter and have just returned today. Our country is still in a chaotic state. I hope the revolutionary movement of those who believe in democracy and socialism may end the dark page of our country's history, and I believe that you are able to utter impartially what our people want to say.

Lastly, I hope you can help us bring our country onto the prosperous road.

D. K. H. H.

Tangshan, Hopei,
May 27, 1947.

Chungking Arrests

To The Editor:

I wish to use some of your valuable space to disclose a horrible occurrence here.

At 4. a.m. last Sunday, the universities and colleges here were surrounded by gestapo, and about 80 innocent students were taken prisoner without any reason. In order to keep this shameful act a secret, 31 reporters of the *Ta Kung Pao*, *Shin Ming Pao*, etc. were also arrested.

On the surface the student-movement here seems to have been suppressed; but, in fact, they will never yield before violence. They know now by their experience what the new Constitution means and what the reorganized Government is like. They will carry on their struggle until their cause is won.

ILLINGWORTH.

Chungking,
June 2, 1947.

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Efforts Of 30 Years

SHORTLY after the first issue of *Millard's Review of the Far East* appeared in Shanghai streets 30 years ago—on June 9, 1917—the political situation in China was summed up in the following words:

> "The monarchy is gone—and a good job too—but it requires a political necromancer to figure out what exists in its place, except that it is a republic in name.... There is the framework — now what, or who, are the Government of China?"

Fortunately both for the people of China and for this publication one does not have to be a "political necromancer" to figure out what goes on in China at this moment. Within the space of 30 years—considered by many pessimists as "a long time"—the Republic of China has made notable progress along the road toward becoming a republic not only in name. Events of the past three decades have served to awaken the usually estimated 450,000,000 Chinese from the stupor of feudalism and have gradually drawn them into political activity. More, the optimists on the China scene — with whom the editors of the *Review* have always been aligned—consider that China's political development has entered into high gear precisely due to the awakening of China's dormant millions.

If prior to the Revolution of 1911 the history of this country was viewed by many as a mechanical replacement of one dynasty by another, and therefore as being totally hopeless as far as the Chinese people were concerned, her development since that momentous date has been onward and upward, slow, admittedly, but nevertheless in the right direction.

In the last 30 years this pattern has assumed a definitely positive character, in spite of what may be said against the incessant civil wars, continuing to this very day. Indeed, it would have been a historical upset and surprise had China been able, after many centuries of dormancy, to enter directly into a golden age of "reconstruction and rehabilitation" without tasting the bitterness of awakening. No country to date has managed to bypass civil wars of transition from feudalism, and China's haye been severer than most because her sleep had been longer, her vital forces more harshly suppressed and the contradictions of her society more unnaturally confined.

The *Review* has had the good fortune to be eyewitness for 30 years—with the exception of four under the Japanese—of China's modern development and progress. Our files, restored with great difficulty from Japanese pillage, cover this period and reflect the Chinese people's efforts of 30 years which have finally made China into what she is today. In short, the history of China's revolutionary development is also the history of this magazine.

The first and second generations of *Review* editors—Thomas F. Millard and J. B. Powell—have done their task and passed to happier grounds. They saw the inception of that struggle which is to lead China eventually to full-fledged democracy, but it remains for us, the third generation, to bear witness to the final stages of this country's becoming a "free, independent, united and prosperous China."

J. B. Powell, editor and publisher of the *Review* for 29 years, discovered a new reader in China—the young student of the English language. He promoted the organization of study clubs and classes in universities and schools. Today, the *Review* still depends in quite a measure on this reader—the nearest approach to contact with the Chinese people of an English-language publication. For this reason, our readers' prosperity and good fortune are our own, and China's rise or fall our own destiny. Our Letters from the People columns are a good barometer of how things stand with the common people of China, and also with this magazine. And if for no other reason than our continued publication, we hope—and are convinced—that China's vicissitudes will be succeeded soon by peace, democracy, reconstruction and prosperity.

The Spirit Of The Law

LOCAL garrison forces, the municipal police, military police and investigators were instructed to curb vehemently and forcibly labor strikes, student strikes, parades, demonstrations or any other activities detrimental to public safety and order.—*News item, May* 22, 1947.

Twenty thousand ex-Youth Army men held an anti-Communist rally in Hongkew Park and later paraded through downtown streets....—*News item, June* 3, 1947.

Stop The Japs!

LESS than a month ago we noted editorially that the Japs were beginning to talk about rearmament. We cautioned that such an idea, no matter how ridiculous it might seem at this time —a time when the peace treaties have not even been signed—could well prove serious. Last week we saw the "second installment" of the Japs' plan in the form of a "hope" to retain a foothold in the Ryukyu Islands with some sort of joint trusteeship arrangement with the United States. The Japs further hope to obtain special immigration rights in Taiwan, as well as fishing rights off the Ryukus.

As we pointed out in the case of the report dealing with a revived Japanese Army and Air Force, such straws in the wind indicate the manner in which Japan's leaders are thinking today. It is also possible, we said, that these ideas may

have originated with General MacArthur himself, who may hope to "scare" Congress into a panic by stories of Japanese revival and thus secure funds to prolong the life of his occupation. MacArthur, a past master of publicity and popular appeal, is certainly wise enough to appreciate the effectiveness of such a maneuver.

The slightly different manner in which these two "suggestions" reached print also suggests a plan carefully worked out in advance. The first one, dealing with recruiting a new Jap Army and Air Force, simply leaked out through an unidentified member of SCAP who said that he had been approached with the idea by a prominent Japanese official, also unidentified. The second suggestion—apparently because the first raised no widespread storms of protest—was more clearly identified as to its origin. It is said to have originated in a secret document written by former Premier Shigeru Yoshida, who handed it to SCAP.

We can't prevent the Japanese from hatching their "little plans," but we certainly do not have to release them in the manner SCAP is doing. SCAP, it should be noted, has seen to it that both ideas have reached the press in a semi-official manner and has made no comment, either approving or disapproving. It is thoroughly preposterous for the occupation authorities to appear so unconcerned about the plans of the enemy to restore himself to his former position of strength. If nothing else, these two incidents well support the contention that a civilian government exercising common sense is needed in Japan and that it is high time to get rid of General MacArthur and his small coterie composed mainly of mediocre old friends dating back to Philippine army post days.

Meanwhile, it would behoove China to start worrying. Under the best of internal circumstances China would have had a difficult time keeping Japan from again becoming a menace, but with the combination of a civil war here and an almost benevolent occupation there, the odds against China are almost overwhelming. Now is the time to protest, and protest sharply. Soon it will be too late—the peace treaties will have been signed and Japan will be on the road back.

* * *

AS time elapses after V-J Day, a lot of people, especially in the higher places of that modern Shogunate, seem to forget everything that was once said about remembering Pearl Harbor, and under the pretext of preserving a "reasonable living standard for the Japanese people," and similar excuses, are intent on restoring Japan's industrial potential even before its victims have had a chance to recover from the ravages of Jap aggression.

It has previously been stated in the *Review* that the United States appears to have turned away from China in disgust, considering how this country is still embroiled in civil war, and has turned to Japan as the only logical base for future Far Eastern "stability." Certainly, reports reaching here all tend to indicate that SCAP, whether on its own initiative or otherwise, has launched a program of reconstructing Japan's industrial potential to the menace and detriment of other Pacific countries. The recent developments in the reparations question have raised a storm of protest in the Chinese press, all shades of political opinion uniting on this issue: Beware of Japan's audacious intrigue!

OCCUPATION OF JAPAN—ONE VIEW

"It's really funny to think how I worried during the war about my old job back at the Brownsville cement plant."

—Dove in Colliers

Chinese critics of the latest SCAP moves in allowing Japan to preserve her chemical industries and 4,000,000 spindles, and retaining her industrial potential at the 1930-34 level, rightly point to the fact that this is the very level which allowed Japan to follow an aggressive policy and engulf one defenseless country after another, finally attacking the United States itself.

Whatever may be the reasons behind this evolution to forgetfulness of the role of Japanese industry in the Pacific War, talk about restoring Japanese industrial level to 1930-34 under the pretext of "ensuring a reasonable living standard for the Japanese people" is definitely out of tune with the times and somewhat premature, considering that Japan's victims have not yet had the benefit of her reparations to restore their own standard of living.

* * *

TALK about this reasonable living standard for the Japanese people to be attained through a comparatively high industrial level brings to mind the manner in which the Japanese lao pai hsing were forgotten when Japan's industry developed rapidly prior to the outbreak of the war.

On slight investigation we discover that while the index of industrial production increased threefold in the period from 1931 to 1937, the

real consumption of wealth by the population went up only about 40 percent. Which shows very well for just what the developing industry was working.

If the Japanese people will benefit this time from a high industrial level, one is apt to inquire why they didn't before the war? What is there to guarantee that a high industrial level at this stage will benefit the Japanese people and not the Zaibatsu alone?

* * *

IN spite of the rapid expulsion of correspondents of independent thought, enough news has come out of SCAP's Shogunate to prove that the Zaibatsu has not been broken up and that the same forces that fired the first shots of the Pacific War as far back as in 1932 are still at the helm of Japanese politics and economics, though they may be variously and skilfully disguised.

One interesting fact which lends weight to this assumption is the not too often publicized membership of the clique which has been entrusted with the dissolution of the Japanese monopolies. Seven of the nine members of the Zaibatsu Liquidation Commission are either Zaibatsu members or their henchmen. To date, of the 65 concerns listed for liquidation, only one has been publicly auctioned off! Having been entrusted with disbanding themselves, the Zaibatsu are doing a brilliant job of preserving intact their economic power until the time comes for private trade, which, it appears, may not be too far off.

* * *

ONE of the main reasons for gradually cutting down on the proposals for reparations removals has been the contention that with certain plants removed Japanese industry will be in no position to produce for domestic needs, let alone for foreign trade. There are sufficient indications to conclude that the Zaibatsu, who have managed to remain in one piece despite all orders to the contrary, have wilfully retarded industrial production, so much so that output today is about 30 percent of the 1930-34 level. This policy is clearly followed to create the impression that Japan needs most of her prewar industries and somewhat more than the Allies would let her have to maintain a "reasonable living standard for the Japanese people."

This Atcheson himself explained when he said: "Any Japanese businessman and industrialist would be extremely reluctant to rebuild or resume operations, because of the uncertainty as to whether his plant will be among those marked for reparations removal."

One of the more effective methods of curtailing production has been to divert raw materials into the black market, which observers, not connected with SCAP, rate as one of the most thriving in Asia.

Although this obdurate curtailment of essential output—with the exception of the textile industry—has created an army of 5,000,000 unemployed, the industrialists suffer little from this lack of business activity. The black market brings in handsome returns, some having made as much as 200 to 500 percent in profits.

The cost of living, meanwhile, has risen to 40 times the prewar level and the people have to turn to the black market which Zaibatsu members have themselves not shunned—a sound indication of the magnitude of its operations. Coupled to this, it is said, indirect taxes have been increased, a move which, with the inflexible policy of inflation, in no manner can be construed as creating a "reasonable living standard for the Japanese people."

Thus an atmosphere of penury and pauperism has been artificially created which has led Reparations Commissioner Pauley to remark that in his opinion Japan is in no position to pay reparations on a large scale. But the War Department's special reparations committee with its more lenient recommendations recently made Pauley's report look like daylight robbery.

* * *

SCAP's present policy appears to be regulated by future profits rather than by considerations of future security in the Pacific. George Atcheson's slip of the tongue to the effect that the aims of the United States Government and those of the Japanese Government coincide, and his statement that American business interests are prepared to assist in practicable and mutually beneficial ways in the development of Japan's peacetime economy all tend to show that SCAP is oblivious of the interests of other countries, such as China, for example, whose interests do not exactly coincide with those of the Zaibatsu.

While allowing the preservation of that structure of Japanese economy which enabled Japanese militarists to wage war on Asia, SCAP, the incumbent Shogun, has solicited and sent more than 1,000,000 tons of foodstuffs since May 1946, a fact which the American taxpayer is not likely to relish.

The thought that a drastic land reform would break the power of the landed gentry, which is at the same time the industrial gentry, has not been seriously entertained. The land reform which has remained on paper has not been considered as an apt solution for the Japanese food problem. Instead an increase in Japanese exports is urged, ostensibly to pay for food imports.

Japanese cotton mills have been surfeited with American raw cotton in careful preparation for the resumption of private trade. What guarantee is there that the Japanese will not again undersell the world with their cheap goods considering the manner in which labor demands are handled and strikes practically outlawed?

Rumors of an impending large loan to Japan, added to other factors already mentioned, reassure no one that Japan will not again undermine the trade of other weaker countries which were her victors less than two years ago.

* * *

AFTER so much encouragement from official SCAP quarters there is no reason for the Japanese monopolists not to feel elated and humbly suggest "plans" of their own. Already they have suggested that reparations could be

paid by Japan in kind, rather than through removals of plants and factories.

Former Premier Yoshida has even been bold enough to predict that "....industrial revival is possible within one year after settlement of reparations." What this means in practice is that the industrialists who are now purposely retarding production will find ways and means to step it up after the more cheerless details of peace making are settled.

General MacArthur's assertion that Japan has already become a democracy and that large reparations cannot be imposed on her, while the only way to solve the economic crisis is to restore her foreign trade, is an ominous sign to those who have suffered at the hands of the Japs.

* * *

THE Chinese coolie and the peasant are not aware of the goings on in Japan, mainly because of their illiteracy and on account of preoccupation with other matters, mainly connected with rice. The Chinese intellectuals, however, have already sensed the dangerous import of Japanese events and have raised a storm of protest, as evidenced in the Chinese press.

The Chinese, as the people who suffered most from the Japs, have raised their voices in protest against this economic arming of Japan, whether under the guise of making it pay for the occupation, securing a base against Communism, financing food imports, or preserving a "reasonable standard of living for the Japanese people."

"The Chinese cannot tolerate this policy of arming Japanese, no matter what the underlying motive may be," the *Century Critic* recently wrote, expressing in one sentence the sentiments of the entire Chinese people.

Japan must pay reparations, as specified in the Potsdam Agreement, even if the Japanese starve—and they will not starve if the country is thoroughly demilitarized and democratized.

The eradication of the black market in raw materials and other commodities, the control of production and equitable distribution, the implementation of the land reform, all these will keep the Japanese people from starving, although these measures may ruin the profiteers.

Moreover, the removal of reparations in appropriate quantities will not impair Japan's foreign trade, although admittedly that may be the end of her militarists.

The Un-Christian General

THE Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee was asked to expel General Feng Yu-hsiang from the party because he had issued a statement to the Chinese people from San Francisco, which, in the opinion of the KMT members of the eastern United States was considered defaming the Chinese Government, helping the Communist cause and hampering the prestige of the Kuomintang.—*News item.*

Attlee's India "Gamble"

LET no man be deceived. The British Empire may have been born on the playing fields of Eton. But there is no intention to let it die by the Etonian code of sportsmanship, unless being a crooked "bookie" in a race where all the horses have been doped can be considered a manifestation of that code of athletic honor.

In the past perhaps we have been unduly suspicious of British intentions, as opposed to British utterances, on India. Perhaps we were "jumping the gun" in assuming that the British Imperial lion still prefered to use his teeth rather than to use his tongue to lick the "poor little black brother."

We might have been wrong before June 2, when the new master plan for the transference of power in India was announced. But when the announcement came, not only were our innermost suspicions confirmed, but we saw Attlee himself confirming our most dreaded fears.

For the plain fact of the matter is that neither Premier Attlee nor Viceroy Mountbatten has given the Indians anything more than a few more pet titles to play around with, and a few more "liberties" to wave in front of the world. That and nothing else.

Yes, Attlee has promised India her freedom. But with what strings attached. First the country is to be divided into Hindustan and Pakistan. That in itself sanctions the split up of India. But wait. There is the third division looming—Rajastan, where the princely rulers will carve out their own proverbial pound of flesh from the body politic of India. Then there is the Northwest Frontier. There a plebiscite will be held, with the possibility that the entire area may become an independent state.

Which means that from one India, Britain will make two, then three, then, perhaps, dozens. Then she will sit back—and let the Indians do the rest, after making sure that there is no single force in India strong enough to hold the country together.

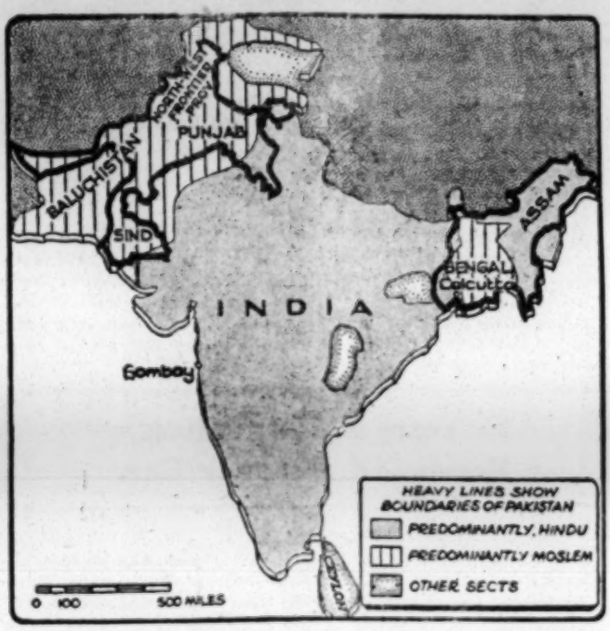
Meanwhile, through her two Governors-General (one for Hindustan and one for Pakistan) Britain will continue to play cat-and-mouse with the two "Dominions." And Britain doesn't mean to lose either.

How could she? Playing upon the suspicions of the two rival states, Britain can be sure of one thing: Neither will dare to withdraw from the "Commonwealth" for fear that the other would then automatically receive British support for its political ambitions. Britain may no longer be the judge and the jury in India, but Britain will still remain the judge so long as both major Indian factions must continue to play the game of getting out of the Empire marshes by going deeper into the sands.

Yes, you will hear Britain speak in the pious tones of the "Great White Father." You will hear British statesmen remind you of British generosity in forthwith giving dominion status to India. Britain is doing her level best to help the Indians on the road to freedom, they will tell you.

And all the time you can see that Britain is doing her darndest to help herself—to all that she can in India. Dominion status immediately? Then why didn't Britain grant dominion status to India 15 years ago, during the great civil disobedience campaign in the early thirties? If she was willing to help India, Britain could have made that grant of dominionhood then, and so saved millions of lives and oceans of tears.

DIVIDED INDIA



The population of India, estimated as of December 31, 1946, is 414,000,000, of whom approximately 260,000,000 are Hindus and 90,000,000 Moslems. The provinces of Bengal and the Punjab are the main problems at the moment as they are scheduled for partition.

But Britain didn't give India dominion status then. She is only giving India dominion status now, because she knows that the word "dominion" today becomes a chain, which the Indian leaders cannot refuse, yet which they know that, having once taken it on themselves, they can never get rid of.

That is how far British generosity goes. Beauty may be skin-deep. Democracy is even more superficial when deep in the heart of a nation there beats the fervor of colonialism. The mere joy with which Churchill has agreed to co-operation with Attlee in this great task of "emancipation" shows the drift of the British Imperial tide. No more is Churchill going to oppose Attlee's India policy. Why should he? After all, are not the Indian politicians going to be left to do the work that the "Tommies" used to do? Then why use your own as cannon-fodder, when there are Indians galore to spill their blood.

Now we can see why Churchill opposed Attlee six months ago, but is contented today. For what Churchill complained of was not that the Indian people were being given their "independence"—that word never did bother Churchill so long as it was left for him to define its meaning—but that it was being given to a united nation. Once Churchill had seen how the worms of independence had eaten into the Indian apple, dividing it from within, "Quit India" was no longer a fear.

That is the story behind the "most magnificent gesture in all history." Pukka Sahib Kipling's "White Man's Burden" has become the "Burden of the White Man" for the Indian people—a burden which, instead of being placed on the shoulders of India, has now been placed around her feet. Yes, Britain will now let India walk along the road to ultimate independence, after making certain that the fetters are heavy enough to prevent further movement in the "right direction."

What can India do about it?

Only one thing—open her eyes, now. Tomorrow will be too late. The Indian people, brushing aside all party sympathies and communal ties, must unite. They must, in effect, say this to Britain:—

"You have promised to Quit India. Now do so. We want none of your troops here. We want none of your dominion status. We want none of your meddling. Get out and stay out. We will do the rest."

The Indian people must call Attlee's bluff, before it is too late. They can only call Attlee's bluff by making him keep every one of the promises he has made, but only after proving that they no longer need the "protection of the Crown."

In a game where the stakes are so high, Attlee must stop being the "honest broker" fleecing both sides. And he can only be stopped from doing this when—and if—the two unite, pool their forces and resources, and tell Britain to quit India, this time for good.

That is the only way of calling Attlee's colossal bluff. And it can only be done now.

So far Britannia has been enacting the role of the long-suffering matron fondly nurturing along her youngster. The time has come for the two striplings to get up and tell their quarreling godmother that they are now old enough, and strong enough to live without the milk of human kindness "fortified" with the arsenic of political disunity.

Britain has been trying to tell the Indians that it is each man, each community, each state for itself. What the Indian people must do is, tell Britain that it is still all India against Britain. But first the Indians must believe that themselves.

Attlee is playing on the knowledge that the Indians can not see this. Gandhi still hopes that they will.

Future Threat

Germans May Inherit U.S. Real Estate.—*China Press Headline.*

That is, if you don't watch out.

Press Attacks

WE have been more amused than concerned over the protests by China, Russia and America during the past two weeks because of press attacks upon themselves in the papers of other countries. Russia protested to China over attacks upon the Soviet Union carried by "White" Russian papers in China and was in return handed a protest by the Chinese Foreign Office over attacks upon China recently appearing in Moscow papers. Meanwhile, America, the supposed citadel of the free press, protested to Czechoslovakia because a Prague journal criticized President Truman.

If our memory serves us right, all of these countries have at least given lip service to the general principle of a free press. However, the fact that all are so ready to protest would indicate that not a single one of them believes the press in the "other fellow's" country is really

free and that press attacks constitute an official "unfriendly act."

While Russia, to our way of thinking, does not have a free press, she claims that, according to her standards, her press is free. It is free of advertisers' pressure and so is really freer than the American, she insists. In China, where the past fortnight has seen two papers suspended indefinitely and others temporarily closed, there is press freedom of a kind. Some papers have it and some don't, some have a little and others a lot, while some fall in between. In any event, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, former Premier T. V. Soong, Mr. T. T. Hsia, of *Central News*, and others are down on the record in black and white as unreservedly favoring complete freedom of the press, according to the report of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, who sent a special committee to China, Russia and other countries a few years ago. In the United States freedom of the press is a byword.

Just why is it then that these three countries have seen fit to take exception, in a strictly totalitarian manner, to what the press in a supposedly friendly country has to say? The official reasoning would almost seem to be, "My press is free and therefore has a right to say what it wants about you, but your press is not free and therefore anything critical it says about me constitutes an unfriendly act."

While this may be over simplification, it does appear that a great deal of fuss is being made about an extremely minor matter. In countries where the press is rigidly controlled and anything a major paper says may be taken as "official," the authorities concerned certainly should think carefully before launching unpleasant press attacks upon their neighbors. In countries where the press is only partially free, the target of abuse should be able to figure out which clique, or special interest group, is behind the attack and thereby attach the proper significance to it. In countries where the press has no fetters, attacks are expressions of the personal views of the editors or the newspaper owners and by no means can be considered as "officially" inspired.

Perhaps a little more judgment and restraint are in order, but that is all. Certainly an exchange of diplomatic notes is not necessary.

Belles Lettres Department

(Way of Piety Section)

HE did not find a hideous ogre, a demon who lives on human flesh, as he is more or less represented by pious Pinks and Reds. He found this man, who for years has been the target of the most scurrilous vituperations from the international press and the object of half a dozen official condemnations by the UNO, which owes its present low prestige largely to its attitude towards him, this reputed tyrant who is supposed to be savagely crushing his rebellious but powerless subjects under a yoke of Fascist tyranny, to be a simple and humble man, who is so little dominated by ambition that he would have resigned long ago had it not been for the machinations of the Reds and the the puerile interference of the UNO. In recent times he has at least on one occasion made the spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius together with his cabinet, and before making important decisions of state he is accustomed to spend from one to four hours on his knees before the Blessed Sacrament! His sole reason for remaining in power is because he feels he has a duty in conscience to save Spain and the traditional religion of Spain from International Communism. Naturally a religious man of this sort could hardly be expected to win popularity with atheistic Reds, whose long-conceived plan of making Europe burn at both ends was completely upset by him. He told the visitor personally that the international agitation against him is due not only to frustrated Reds but to the Grand Orient. That explains a lot.—*Article on Francisco Franco, Catholic Review, May*, 1947.

Certainly does!

Rate Of Inflation Note

According to the *Evening Post*, CNAC's two first flights to America carried passengers out of China, but brought back freshly-printed CNC notes. If this report proves correct, one might assume that the local presses and the steamships can't keep up and, going a step further, one might also assume that the inflation is getting serious.

25 Years Ago In Millard's Review Of The Far East

Tuchun System

June 17, 1922.

General Li Yuan-hung, in a 3,000-word proclamation in which he stated the conditions contingent upon his assumption of the Presidency....ably summed up the desperate situation to which the Military Barons of China have brought their country. In part, he said: "During the past 10 years there has been no cessation of fighting. The bones of the dead would make a mountain. Their blood would make a river....But has the strife finished? Shall we not again see dead and wounded? If I should think that the mere revival of the pretence of constitutional methods and the reestablishment of the President would in itself bring an end to strife, a child would not believe me! Are not such methods those of a physician who fails to get at the root of a disease? Now where is the root? It is the Tuchun system which has caused the trouble...."

* * *

Mosquito War

The cooperation of the American women in Shanghai in warring against the mosquito, was secured at an informal meeting of the members of the American Women's Club held at Dr. Anne Walter Fearn's sanatorium, 30 Route Pichon, June 9....Mosquitoes in Shanghai have come to be a public nuisance in addition to being disease carriers....The chief preventives are oil, petroleum or kerosene....disseminated over the surface of (stagnant) water, cutting off the mosquitoes' breathing facilities and killing their larvae.

10 Years Ago In The China Weekly Review

Readjustment

June 12, 1937.

The readjustment of military affairs in this country now having been completed, the present is the time for the entire nation to participate in the concerted effort for national reconstruction. This statement was made by General Chiang Kai-shek in a press interview, according to *Kuo Min*. General Chiang has completely recovered his health (after the Sian kidnaping) and has canceled his sick leave. The future of the State, he said, is in our own hands. The country is just like an individual, who will be immune from disease if he strengthens his body. The government is paying especial attention to economic rehabilitation and education of the people, he indicated....General Chiang was of the opinion that....the educational policy and program of the State must undergo a thorough examination....The Generalissimo will summon all learned university professors from all parts of China to a collective interview in Kuling.

* * *

Western Capital

Occidental capital is beating a hasty and complete retreat from North China, in the opinion of Toshio Shiratori, former Japanese minister to Sweden and one-time spokesman for the Tokyo Foreign Office. American and European investments in North China no longer are noticeable, he told the Kobe press after an extended trip to Manchukuo and North China.

A Common Man's "Peace Formula"

By C. Y. W. MENG

IN China's eight-year "Holy War of Resistance" against the Japanese, it was the Common Man who contributed the manpower and bore the major share of the burden of war. Consequently, it is not his intention to see the nation, for which he sacrificed so much and for so long, torn apart by civil war any longer. During the war against foreign aggression, he was willing to stand almost any privation and suffering, but he is certainly most unwilling to be the worst sufferer again in this internecine fratricidal war. He has every right to speak out and address his grievances to the nation.

The Common Man knows nothing about any "ism." He has no party affiliations—be it Kuomintang, Communist or any other party. He is not politically ambitious. His only concern is with national interests and the people's welfare. Because of his disinterestedness, and furthermore, because he represents the majority of the Chinese people, the Common Man is in the position to create a "Peace Formula"—crude as it may be—for the peaceful settlement of the present political situation in China.

U. N. Report Cited

To begin with, the Common Man wishes to cite one short passage from the 170-page United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization's Report on another civil war-torn nation—Greece—which he has read and which has impressed him badly. It reads:

"At the same time this widespread poverty exists, every town or city in Greece has good restaurants at which excellent meals and wine can be purchased, and stores full of all types of clothing, tools, equipment, lighting fixtures and confections. In every town and city, and most notably of all, in Athens, the restaurants are thronged with well-dressed people who live very comfortably despite the poverty all around them. These people draw their incomes largely from business profits and speculation, or from inherited property. They are the ones who enjoy all the good things the country can produce or import. Yet the tax burden falls on them, in proportion to their incomes, far less heavily than it does on the low-income farmers and workers."

Let us ask ourselves: Are we not in the same terrible condition? Go to the restaurants, dance halls, theaters and amusement houses in any city and you will find every one of them packed to its fullest capacity with well-dressed people. Go to the department stores, and you will note the thirst on the part of the rich Chinese for "U.S. Made" nylon stockings, cosmetics and other luxuries. These "Fortunate Few" spend several millions of dollars on a wedding or for the celebration of a birthday or the birth of a child.

Stark Contrast

Yet in the rural areas, everywhere there is evidence of human misery, bankruptcy and abject poverty among China's teeming millions. On every street corner and in front of every big building in any city, you will see the sick, the poor, the weak, the aged, the starved, the crippled, the homeless and the refugee — men, women and children—who remain uncared for by the state.

If the Common Man is asked to give the principal cause of the present social unrest and the nationwide students' anti-civil war and anti-hunger movement, this will be his explanation. He cannot agree with the frequent official statements attributing all new uprisings to "Communist agitation."

Therefore, the first suggestion which the Common Man intends to offer to the government is that the present rise of national consciousness should be welcomed by the government. In times of great national awakening, suppression is the worst policy. The more high-handed the suppression measures, the stronger will be the reaction. The best measure to be taken, therefore, is not suppression, but an attempt to meet the people, understand the people, discuss their problems with the people, study the people's mentality and opinions and yield as far as possible to the people's wishes and legitimate aspirations. That should be the attitude of a decent government in the 20th Century.

The "Nanking Tragedy" of May 20 would have been averted and the whole situation would not have been so aggravated had the high officials in Nanking on that day decided to receive the student delegation, talk with the youths and listen to their grievances. But instead they called out the cavalry, infantry, armed-to-the-teeth gendarmerie, police and "fire brigade," and built "three lines of defense" to meet the unarmed students.

Power Exceeded

The Common Man now wishes to ask the National Government what action it intends to take when gendarmes and police run amok and treat the people in such an inhuman manner and exceed their power? (See an eyewitness account from a group of Christians in Nanking, *The Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, May 27, 1947). It is an elementary principle in modern jurisprudence that when a man over-exercises his right of self-defense, he is answerable to law. Why should some high officials in the capital stand up in defense of the Nanking gendarmes and police and announce that "they cannot be punished." On what grounds do they make this statement?

It may be recalled that when the late General Patton, in his anger, slapped the face of a soldier, General Eisenhower at once threatened to deprive him of his rank if he did not apologize, and the American Congress also took action. The Common Man suggests that the Control Yuan should take up the matter immediately, conduct a thorough investigation, and punish the guilty officials. The Common Man demands that justice prevail.

The hasty adoption of the so-called "Emergency Measures for the Maintenance of Social Order" by the National Government reminds the Common Man of the "hot-headed proceedings" by which the early American legislators adopted the "Sedition Act" in 1798, when the ruling Federalists set up a "reign of terror" against democrats and aliens. The student of American history will remember James Madison's famous speech in which he said "....By subjecting the truth of opinion to the regulation, fine and imprisonment to be inflicted by those who are of a different opinion, the free range of the human mind is restrained." Actually, in the presidential election of 1800, the Federalist Party was crushed, never to recover. Thus ended the first great experiment in intolerance and persecution of opinion in the United States.

Historical Lesson

This historical instance should serve as a useful and timely lesson to the party in power in China today. In less than four months, no less than two sets of "Emergency Measures"—one economic and the other of a "social order"—have been promulgated. Neither of them had previously passed the regular legislative procedure. Neither of them observed the legal time schedule for a law to become effective. Both of them were "adopted today and enforced tomorrow." In some remote provinces, the people may not have read the full text of these measures, and yet the law is already in force.

The Common Man wishes to cite another important statement from an American leader, which should serve well as a mirror for many high officials in Nanking, including the Minister of Interior, garrison commanders and police directors in many cities. David E. Lilienthal, former Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and now Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in his testimony before a joint Congressional Committee, said:

"I believe—and I conceive—the Constitution of the United States to rest upon, as does religion, the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and to protect and to defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, as it is essentially the meaning of religion.

"Any form of Government, therefore, and any other institutions, which make men the means rather than the end, which exalt the state above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of government are contrary to that conception.

"It is very easy to talk about being against Communism. It is equally

important to believe those things which provide a satisfying and effective alternative. Democracy is that satisfying, affirmative alternative. That I deeply believe."

That is, any government which puts the state above the importance of men and places arbitrary power over men violates all constitutional principles. And such a government has no place in the 20th Century.

Therefore, to the Common Man, an immediate abolition of "Rule by Force," (See "Force Rules China" in the May 31 issue of *The Review*), a return to "Rule by Law," prompt suppression of "Police State" and the inauguration of "A Government by the People," constitute Part 1 of the "Peace Formula" for the peaceful settlement of the political situation in China today.

Important Instrument

To the Common Man, the recent students' anti-civil war movement is neither frightening nor hateful but, rather, a great asset to the Nationalists for the settlement of the political situation by "political means," as the leaders of the Kuomintang so often profess to be their desire. This asset should be fully exploited and utilized as an important instrument to force the Communists to come to terms by spreading the present popular Chinese anti-civil war sentiment to the hearts of the people in Communist-accupied areas. As all observers know, without the support of the local people, the Chinese Communists cannot fight. The Common Man really cannot understand why this great advantage is not being fully utilized.

As pointed out by the *New York Herald Tribune*, in some of its aspects the situation in China is vastly different from that which exists in Greece, in that "....the Greek Reds, it is said, have received help from Russian satellites in the Balkans. Russian help for the Chinese Reds was non-existent for years, on the testimony of numerous well-qualified observers." (Reprinted in May 30 issue of *The Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*). To the Common Man, this is another great asset to the Nationalists.

However, at the recent meeting of the People's Political Council, there were some resolutions which called for "abrogation of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance," "Joining with the Anti-Soviet Movement sponsored by President Truman" and "A large scale anti-Soviet Movement in order to terminate the Communist question." To the Common Man, such irresponsible utterances calculated to hurt the Sino-Soviet friendly relations should be promptly suppressed before it is too late. Until any definite evidence is forthcoming our people must not mention any power too freely when denouncing the Chinese Communists.

Great Assets

In other words, the present nation-wide anti-civil war sentiment and the non-existence of any Russian help to the Chinese Communists are two great assets which the Kuomintang can ill afford to ignore. These assets must not be permitted to turn out to be two great liabilities. The Government must not lose the support and confidence of the people, while it invites animosity from a neighboring power. This is Part II of the "Peace Formula."

It seems to the Common Man that some high government officials and Kuomintang members are suffering most tragically from *severe* "Red Hysteria." These people have apparently overlooked two great dictums: "A semi-feudal and corrupt regime only invites Communism, but a progressive regime with a representative government repels Communism," and "Hunger invites Communism," (see "Something Rotten in Greece," by Ernest O. Hauser, *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 5, 1947).

Such a contagious disease must be quickly healed. A correction of such a mental attitude will necessarily result in the adoption of more correct measures with which to cope with the situation in the country. To enforce essentially wartime anti-Communist emergency measures to deal with the student movement which, as pointed out by Dr. Hu Shih, is not entirely Communist-inspired, is a case in point (According to an *AP* report, Dr. Hu Shih described as "unfair" President Chiang Kai-shek's statement that the student uprisings of recent weeks were entirely Communist-inspired). This is Part III of the "Peace Formula."

After the fulfilment of the foregoing three parts, the Common Man suggests that the National Government should voluntarily undergo another reorganization in accordance with the public's wishes and along the following lines:

"Division of Power"

(1) The well-established constitutional principles of "division of power," "mutual check" and "balance of power" among the various branches of the government should all be observed. Let it be now a new established constitutional principle in China that *no one party should hereafter be in control of all branches of the government machinery.*

(2) In China, not only is the "Independence of the Judiciary" imperative, but the "Independence of Control and Examination" also is essential. Under this principle, *the incumbents for the presidency of the Judicial, Control and Examination Yuans should hereafter be always non-partisans or members of parties other than the party in control of the executive branch of the government.*

(3) The incumbents of the Ministry of Justice and Supreme Court, by virtue of their close connection with the Judicial Yuan, the Ministry of Audit and the Administrative Court with the Control Yuan, and the Ministry of Education with the Examination Yuan, *should hereafter be always non-partisans, leading jurists, experts and educators only.*

(4) Let it be now a new established constitutional principle in China that *whenever the incumbents of the above-mentioned Yuans, Ministries and Courts happen to be of the same party in control of the executive branch, the former are all under obligation to retire automatically upon the latter's ascendancy to power.*

(5) All laws and regulations before they can be enforced must be discussed and ratified by the Legislative Yuan. This Yuan should be a representative body of people from various walks of life. The Yuan is an independent branch and is separated from the executive branch. The President of the Legislative Yuan should hereafter be always a non-partisan and jurist only. He cannot be a member of the same party in control of the executive branch of the government.

(6) In the State Council meetings, in order to adopt a new policy, important resolution, imposition of a new tax or revision of an old tax, *two-thirds of the total votes should be required.*

Purpose Of Reorganization

The purpose of the reorganization of the National Government this time is thus aimed definitely at the accomplishment of political stability and the establishment of some great constitutional principles for the settlement of the present political situation as well as any similar situation that may arise in the future. As can be seen from the above, this system will permit no party to gain full control of all branches of the government and no party will be at the mercy of any other party. The minority party will have means to defeat the majority party in the State Council meetings (the highest policy formulation and determination organ in the country) if the latter should become bureaucratic or tyrannical.

This system will also encourage the participation of the people in the government, as it is now an established principle that the presidents of all Yuan, other than the Executive, should be mostly non-partisans, jurists, educators and men of social standing and personal integrity, and, under express provisions, must not be members of the party in control of the executive branch of the government. In the long run, this will guarantee the integrity and independence of these four Yuan, and will certainly be a great step towards the realization of China's famous Five Power Constitution, which was so ardently advocated by the late leader, Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

Government's "Watch Dog"

Had the Control Yuan — which should be a furious "Watch Dog" of the Government's behavior—maintained its independent character, and remained as a non-party organ in the Government, the "Nanking Tragedy" of May 20 would have led to impeachment proceedings, and the gendarmerie commanders and police directors in Hankow would not have dared open fire on the students, killing three and wounding no less than 20 students.

In demanding the reorganization of the National Government, let it be understood that the Common Man has not the slightest intention of asking for the retirement of the Kuomintang from politics en bloc, nor is it his intention to see the immediate ascendancy to power of the Communists. What he wishes to suggest is that at the present impasse when the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are unable to form a coalition government, the logical step is not

to continue the civil war, nor to undergo a "window-dressing" reorganization as a form of "appeasement" to the nation. The best and most peaceful answer is *to get a third party and more leading non-partisans and liberals in the country to form an interim government with neither the Kuomintang nor the Communists dominating, pending the next election or the convocation of the next National Assembly.* This would be a great and happy constitutional precedent if it can be created, for it will end civil war permanently.

Therefore, to the Common Man, the present political situation, desperate and chaotic as it is, offers an excellent chance to the president to create a splendid precedent in Chinese constitutional history. However, so far this logical step has been relegated to the background. The Common Man demands that the Kuomintang take the initiative this time. If the Common Man is asked to interpret the settlement of the situation by "political means" that is what he means.

Then comes the possible lineup for the interim government. The Common Man wishes to suggest the transfer of Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, from his present post to the Executive Yuan, and allow him to organize a cabinet consisting principally of leading liberals, non-partisans and technical experts in various professions.

The Common Man also intends to nominate Dr. Wang Chung-hui, a renowned international jurist, as the President of the Judicial Yuan; Professor Fu Shih-lien of Peiping University, as the President of the Control Yuan; Dr. Hu Shih, former Chinese Ambassador to the United States, as the President of the Examination Yuan; Dr. James Yen, the world-known mass education promoter, as Minister of Education; and Mr. Huang Yen-pei, member of the Chinese Democratic League, as Minister of Social Affairs.

These are some of the right men for the right positions who should have been appointed to these posts long ago. But so far, with the exception of Dr. Sun Fo, none of them is in government service. This is Part V of the "Peace Formula."

Foreign Policy

The reorganization of the National Government should also be accompanied by the reorientation of China's foreign policy, which has apparently had a most important bearing on the internal situation. There is no doubt that China must stand for world peace and international justice and for the rights and independence of subject peoples and colonies in the world. But China must also become fully aware that "in the first post-war years....upon the desire and the capacity of these two peoples (American and Russian) to work together will depend the maintenance of the world peace and the progress of humanity" (Sumner Welles' "Time For Decision").

China must exert every effort to bring these two powers together. *Never should China divide them. Never should China take sides.* To the Common Man, this should be one of the cardinal principles of China's present foreign policy. Nanking must not deviate from it, and the Kuomintang must not ignore it.

China should send a well-organized "Good Will Mission" headed by some veteran diplomats, to visit the world's leading capitals and the world's most "dangerous spots" with a view to studying the international situation on the spot, and to contributing as much as we can towards the maintenance of the world peace. For example, China should quickly offer to mediate in the settlement of the problems of Korea, which, as pointed out by Mr. Bevin, is "a very grave and dangerous spot" in the world today. China must see to it that an early amicable settlement of the situation is achieved as soon as possible.

Dignified Move

Such a foreign policy will not only constitute a dignified move and an independent and active foreign policy of a great power, as the nation so vehemently demands, but will help immensely in the settlement of the internal political situation. That is Part VI of the "Peace Formula."

The Common Man suggests the recall of some veteran Chinese diplomats to active service, such as Dr. W. W. Yen and Dr. Alfred Sze, as the nation needs their services. While the former may be sent back as Chinese Ambassador to Moscow, the latter might be sent as Minister, with Ambassadorial rank, to Greece and Turkey. Undoubtedly, Moscow is now the world's most important center, while the situation in the Near East is the most complicated of all. Our diplomatic representation in both centers must be greatly strengthened. The Common Man knows that these two veteran diplomats will perform their duties well.

When the National Government has undergone such a reorganization, has adopted a domestic policy "to promote and to protect and to defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual," and has enforced a foreign policy that will bring two big but antagonistic powers together, and if the Chinese Communists still refuse to come to terms, the Common Man is ready to pass the verdict that the Communists are *solely* to blame, and he is ready to suggest that the National Government order an expedition to suppress the Communists. At that time, it will no longer be a civil war but a suppression campaign of a revolt and, as such, it will have the support of the people.

However, if these things are not done, the Common Man's verdict is that both the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are wrong, and both are equally to be blamed. Neither of them is "sincere" in their desire for peace, though each does a great deal of talking about peace.

In other words, the Common Man's bone of contention is: The Kuomintang may reject the Communists' "conditions for peace," but it must not disregard the wishes of the people—it must accept the people's demands. The Kuomintang must demonstrate to the nation that it has done all its part and has exhausted every effort for the sake of peace. To merely say that it has been "giving concession after concession" is not enough. The Kuomintang must reform itself to the satisfaction of the people, not by propaganda, lip service or through the San Min Chu I Youth Corps (which has been "behaving very poorly," according to a statement of Dr. Hu Shih), or the police, but by tangible records and service to the Common Man. The National Government must be broadened, and become a decent government and one of the 20th Century, staffed with more "Men Who Believe in Their Century" and "Men Who Serve Their Nation and Their Time."

The Common Man believes that when the Communists learn that the people are giving far more true support to the National Government they will soften. Therefore, if the Common Man is asked "Where is the key?" his answer is likely to be that the key is in the hands of the Kuomintang, so far as the present situation is concerned. Take the initiative now. Never mind what the Communists are likely to say or demand or how they will act. *The Kuomintang must acknowledge the wishes of the people. It is the people who are most important. Never ignore the people.*

There is no doubt that the zero hour is approaching. The Common Man cannot but break his silence and speak of what he wishes and plead for peace by advancing a rough "Peace Formula" to the nation, out of his patriotism and desire to save the nation from destruction and see permanent world peace, and his impatience to see the early end of the present fratricidal war and the early commencement of reconstruction in his country.

He hopes that those who agree with his "Formula" will give him all possible support to further the cause of peace in China, while those who oppose it will be lenient in their criticism.

Present Student Movement Held Greatest In China's History

By CHARLES J. CANNING

THE recent nationwide student movement, which took the form of classroom strikes, mass meetings, monster demonstrations and gigantic parades to protest against civil war and against starvation, not only has given the government authorities the jitters and caused some sort of political crisis at home, but also it has aroused widespread attention and comment abroad.

Discerning political observers attach the greatest importance to the present student movement, which, as is generally recognized, furnishes a highly significant straw to indicate which way the political wind in China is blowing. The reason is not far to seek. Even a casual reading of modern Chinese history shows that Chinese students have played a fairly conspicuous part in China's internal politics ever since the founding of the Chinese Republic. In point of fact, student agitation in China has long been regarded as a political barometer. Every far-reaching change or development in Chinese politics during the past 30-odd years has been invariably preceded by a sudden flareup of student disturbances. The public has come to take it for granted that any outbreak of nationwide student demonstrations and strikes is an unmistakable storm signal, a prelude to impending political upheavals.

2,000-Year-Old History

Dr. Hu Shih, the well-known historian and president of the National Peking University, stated in an interview with the Peiping correspondent of the *Associated Press*:

"Whenever in any country dissatisfaction exists against the political framework and there are no democratic means of transmitting this feeling, the burden of political agitation and interference falls on the shoulders of the educated youth. China's history shows that the student movement fitted into this formula since the days of the Han Dynasty 2,000 years ago. The great reform of 1898 resulted from petitions by civil service examination candidates. In the same way, the revolution of 1911, which put the republic in power, was entirely a student movement. Later, the Nationalist Revolutions of 1925-1927 were again student revolutions."

The history of the Chinese student movement indicates that the slogans the students raised in their agitation and demonstrations really reflected the will of the people. Theirs was the voice of the people. The students might suffer for raising the slogans at the time, but in the long run their slogans eventually became battle cries for rallying the nation in a common cause.

We need not look back far into Chinese history for proof. Two events will illustrate and substantiate the point under consideration.

Peking Regime Ousted

On the eve of the Northern Expeditionary Campaign in 1926, students in North China organized violent agitation and demonstrations against the incompetent and corrupt Peking Government of warlords and bureaucrats. For this agitation, the students were branded as "Reds" or "radicals" and were treated as such. Some students made the supreme sacrifice on the altar of revolution. But finally the Peking Government was overthrown and the students won ultimate victory.

Or take another example. In the middle thirties the Japanese made demand after demand upon China. Local military and government authorities in Peiping just kowtowed to the Japs. For a time North China was in grave danger of being annexed by Japan without the firing of a single shot. It was at this critical juncture that China's students, particularly students in Peiping, raised their voices in protest. They demanded that China stand up straight to Japanese aggression instead of taking it lying down.

For their anti-Japanese movement the students were again denounced as "tools of the Communists" or "Red agents". They were beaten down with swords, riflebutts and fire hoses. But at long last the Government willy-nilly dropped its former policy of non-resistance and followed the course which the students had long advocated. Again, the slogans of the students carried the day.

It is precisely for this reason that perspicacious political observers are watching with the closest attention the present student movement.

Movement Analyzed

In this short article I shall not trace the development of the student movement or its background. What I want to do is to point out several outstanding characteristics of this movement.

As far as I have been able to make out, these outstanding characteristics are as follows:

First, the present student movement is much broader in scope and far greater in intensity than any other student movement we have ever witnessed in the past. Student movements of the past were, for the most part, limited to a small number of leading cities and universities. In the pre-war years Peiping and Shanghai were the headquarters of student movements, which spread over Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Canton and Hangchow. Universities and schools in outlying provinces such as Yunnan, Kweichow, Kwangsi, Shensi, etc., were left unaffected.

But this time things are different. The present student movement is really a nation-wide student movement in every sense of the term. In a couple of weeks, student strikes and demonstrations against civil war and starvation flared up not only in such leading cities as Peiping, Tientsin, Nanking, Shanghai and Hankow, but they also spread like wild fire to Mukden, Kaifeng, Tsingtao, Tsinan, Sian, Changsha, Kweilin, Kweiyang, Chungking, Kunming, Chengtu, Nanchang, Kiukiang, Anking, Wuhu, Soochow, Wusih, Hangchow, Foochow, Amoy and Canton.

All well-known and long-established Universities were involved, such as the National Peking University and the National Tsing Hua University in Peiping, the National Nankai University in Tientsin, the National Central University in Nanking, the Sun Yat-sen University in Canton, the National Fuh Tan and Chiaotung Universities in Shanghai, the National Chekiang University in Hangchow, the National Wuhan University in Wuchang. It is highly interesting to note that almost all government universities were active participants in the present student movement.

"KMT Strongholds" Lost!

What is particularly significant is that the National Central University in Nanking, the National Chiaotung University in Shanghai and the National Northwest University in Sian, which are generally looked upon as Kuomintang's fortresses on the educational front have turned out aggressive and militant leaders in the present student agitation and demonstration against civil war and against starvation.

Nor have the student disturbances been limited to university students. An imposing number of middle schools and normal schools have taken part. According to press reports, at one time more than 40 middle schools in Shanghai and 30 middle schools and normal schools in Kunming participated in the strike.

Nearly two months have passed since student trouble was first reported. Many schools are still on strike. In Shanghai, the professors of the Fuh Tan and Chiaotung Universities struck in sympathy with their students. No fundamental solution for the trouble is yet in sight. It would appear that the present student movement will probably last longer than any other student trouble of the past.

Secondly, China's student movements of the past, with the exception of the May 30 Movement, were in most cases isolated vanguard actions fought by the students and intellectuals, and were therefore without active support from other sections of society. But the present student movement is an integral part of a nationwide mass movement. As everybody knows, the present disturbances first started with rice riots in Hangchow, Shanghai, Nanking, Wuhu, Foochow and Chengtu. Then a terrific wave of workers' strikes and demonstrations followed in Shanghai and Hangchow to demand the unfreezing of the cost-of-living index. Finally, came the student demonstrations and strikes.

Professors First To Act

Just like the rice rioters and laborers, the students' demands in the early days of strikes and demonstrations were entirely of an economic character, for what they sought was an increase in their food subsidy and educational expenditures. In the Central University in Nanking, the National Shantung University in Tsingtao and the National Northeast University in Mukden, the economic demands were first raised by the professors. The faculty of the last two universities first called strikes to enforce their demands, while professors at the Central University voiced their demands in a sharply-worded statement threatening to take "appropriate action" unless their demands were met.

It is therefore quite clear that the present student movement is part and parcel of a nationwide mass movement, in which people in every walk of life are involved, students, professors, laborers, and even government employees. In this connection it will be interesting to recall that in the early days of May civil servants in Tsingtao and Hankow circulated chain letters and issued public statements to demand revision in their pay-scale and openly threatened to ask for "leave of absence en masse" if their demand should fall on deaf ears.

Officers Have "Good Cry"

Right in the capital, several hundred disbanded army officers, according to press reports, marched to Dr. Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum "to have a good cry." Their leader said at a press conference: "When we live we must have something to eat. After we die we must have coffins." And these down-and-out officers, be it noted, are all of them of the rank of general, and they are said to be desperate over the prospects of their being sent back home after graduation from the Central Training Center.

An objective analysis of the whole situation will reveal that the present student movement is closely connected with a nationwide mass movement for life. Thanks to the timely unfreezing of the cost-of-living index, labor disturbances gradually died out. But with many of their demands dangling in the air, the students still fight on.

Such being the case, it is nothing to be wondered at that the student movement should have gradually taken on a political character. After all, the students are better educated and better informed than are the factory workers. With their demands rejected and their hopes frustrated, they naturally did a lot of hard thinking to find out what all this is about.

And they did find out that the civil war is the root of all evil. That is the reason why they have raised the slogans "Stop The Civil War" and "Restore Peace At Once."

Nation Echoes Cries

The majority of the Chinese are decidedly against the civil war and they want peace. In raising these two slogans, the students are voicing the heartfelt wishes of the people.

The fight for internal peace and unity in China is slowly but surely gaining ground. Just as in the past, the day may not be far distant when the course of events will prove the student right. Because peace must come, one way or another.

Thirdly, another significant character of the present student movement is that public sympathies this time were entirely with the students. More than 500 professors of the National Peking University, the Tsing Hua University and Yenching University in Peiping issued a public statement to express their sympathy with the students and to pooh-pooh the wolf cry against Communism. In Shanghai, professors of the various universities did the same. These professors are not "misguided youngsters" and they know what they are talking about. Their statements carry greater weight than irresponsible and misleading propaganda or heaps of hack writing.

Government Censured

Besides, the Legislative Yuan, the People's Political Council and the Shanghai City Council at their respective meetings spoke out for the students and counselled restraint and cool-headedness in dealing with the students. Members of the Legislative Yuan and of the PPC were particularly bitter and violent in condemning the taking of high-handed measures to suppress the student movement.

Mass roundups of students and inspired Red-baiting have done the government more harm than good. Repressive measures serve only to make the student more bitter and resentful.

If the history of China's student movement teaches anything, it shows that when college boys and girls leave the classrooms and come out into the streets yelling anti slogans, there must be something decidedly wrong. When the young people launch a nationwide campaign they must have something well worth fighting about. History teaches emphatically that any cause espoused by the students is sure to conquer sooner or later.

Will history repeat itself?

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Terror Reigns At Sun Yat-Sen U.

By JEFFERSON CATH

Canton, June 2.

TO the call for a general anti-civil war strike, the Cantonese students are the latest to respond. For one thing, government control over students here is stricter than elsewhere; for another, there has been no major fighting in Kwangtung—yet.

On the morning of May 31, thousands of students of the National Sun Yat-sen University staged a parade. Carrying slogans showing their antipathy towards the civil war, conscription and the requisitioning of cereals, they proceeded in an orderly fashion. None of them was armed—except with fervent patriotism and the courage to speak out at any cost.

All went well until the column reached the corner of Ching Hai Road and the West Bund. Armed with wooden poles and iron rods, a gang of hired thugs was waiting on the roadside. As soon as the students approached, these thugs sprang on them like wolves, and in a matter of minutes blood was shed, arms were broken and skulls were fractured.

The first to fall was the student driving the car in the vanguard. A crushing blow broke both the window pane and the skull of the hapless chauffeur. Another human knocked a girl student down. A third laid low the bandmaster and made sure that he would not sing for a long time to come. Some students countered the clubs with their fists, while others fled into nearby shops. For more than an hour the helpless students were subjected to a terrific beating. One thug, hard pressed by a resisting student, pulled out his pistol and shot the latter down.

Gendarmes, Police Vanish

Although the fight lasted for a long time, no police appeared on the scene. At the starting point, a truck carrying gendarmes followed the procession, but as the students neared the ambush it turned back.

In the afternoon, the military and political authorities called a conference to which the faculties of the local universities and colleges were invited. Amid hushed silence, a representative of the Seamen's Union stepped onto the platform and with easy grace charged the students with attacking his fellow workers, demanding punishment of the offenders and compensation for the injured.

Early the next morning, the students and professors at Shekpai were rudely awakened. Outside, they saw bristling bayonets and threatening machine guns—with admirable speed and great secrecy, the University had been besieged. The girls' dormitory and other students' rooms were searched, and before they were aware of what was happening, a number of students had been taken prisoner.

Professor Mei Kung-pin, a noted scholar and reportedly a member of the Democratic League, was summarily tied up and hurried to the headquarters of the San Min Chu I Youth Corps in the University. His wife was similarly treated. Mr. Kwang Lan-yiu, Director of the General Office of the Dean of Discipline and a loyal Kuomintang member, was also trussed up and hauled off to the headquarters. Aroused by the noise, four other professors came to see what had happened, and they too were taken off and shut up at the same place.

No Warrants

Professor Hwang Zoon-sheng, Dean of Discipline, was awakened by piercing cries for help. When he rushed out, he was greatly shocked by what he saw. During the absence of the President and the Dean of Education, he was the highest responsible officer in the University, but he had not had the slightest knowledge of the incident beforehand. Both before and after the arrests, no notice was given to the school authorities, nor were any warrants ever shown.

The Dean approached the Colonel in command and demanded the immediate liberation of the arrested students and professors. The officer consented to release Mr. Hwang and the professors who had been taken by mistake, but refused to set free either the students or Professor and Mrs. Mei. It was only when 15 professors offered themselves as hostages that the couple was released.

Liberal Paper Silenced

While the arrests were being made in the University, another attack on liberalism in Canton was being launched. *The Daily Tribune*, the only independent honest paper here, was forcibly closed and everybody found on the premises was clapped into prison—including one visitor. The *Tribune* was financed by Chang Tao, Professor at the Law School of the National Sun Yat-sen University. Under the editorship of Pang Fang-ts'ao, another professor at the same school, it has been steadfastly championing the cause of peace, of a coalition government and of political and economic reform. It reflects enlightened public opinion in Canton, and has among its readers a large number of intellectuals.

According to the *Central News Agency*, a wireless set and a large quantity of explosives were found on the premises of the paper. It is also said that the wireless operator had been detailed by Yenan as documents to that effect were reportedly discovered. "Give a dog an ill name and hang him," so says the old English proverb.

At the time of writing, the whole University is living in an atmosphere of unmitigated terror. Two students have allegedly died of wounds. Over 20 students are having their broken limbs and fractured skulls treated in hospital. Two professors and an unknown number of students are detained in prison, nobody know where or why.

It is highly dangerous to stay in the University: one may be arrested at any time by any party of soldiers without written authority to do so. Nor is it safe to venture outside: hired gangsters are waylaying busses and pedestrians from the University. A student who came to Canton to purchase some rice was caught and knocked unconscious. Three others were held and beaten up at Hwanghwagang. Two clerks also were stopped and threatened, but were released when they produced identification.

Where are we living—in Nazi Germany or in Kuomintang China which has just been blessed with a new Constitution?

More than 30,000 workers are involved in a struggle at present to obtain the implementation of the Government's ruling that wages be paid for May according to the 23,500 index. The wage disputes began when the authorities released the May index, unfrozen from the January level, and industrialists complained that they would be ruined if forced to pay according to this computation. The wage hikes involve a raise of more than 100 percent over January.

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3 Hankow Students Slain

HUANG MING-KAN

ALTHOUGH *Central News* later attempted to present the Wuhan incident, in which three students were killed by gendarmes and several others wounded, in the light of a "clash" with casualties on both sides, the initial *Reuter's* dispatch from Nanking on June 1 said that "three students were killed during a police and military raid before dawn on Wuhan University at Wuchang." The students have charged that "dumdum bullets" were used by the assailants and the picture in the center would tend to support this assertion. Top left is Huang Ming-kan, with a deep gash in his side, which could have been either a vicious bayonet thrust or a shot. In the center, lies former student of Wuhan University Wang Tse-teh, shot through the head, while at lower left is Cheng Lo-fung, a native of Taiwan.

WANG TSE-TEH

ON the day following the killing of the three students, a probe was ordered by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Pen San, garrison commander at Wuhan, was ordered dismissed on June 8, according to *UP*. Vice-Minister of Education Han Li-wu declared that arrests of high ranking officers, "including generals," were made at Wuhan and that they were to be courtmartialed for "exceeding their orders." Two days later, Generalissimo Chiang revealed at a Sun Yat-sen Weekly Memorial Meeting that the "responsible military personnel have been punished," according to *Reuter's* from Nanking on June 9. Who has been punished and in what manner, has not been revealed to date, while the courtmartial itself must have been an extremely speedy affair, without the particulars, however, being publicized.

CHENG LO-FUNG

How Many Trillion CNC?

By URII SDOBNIKOV

A NUMBER of estimates have been made recently in an attempt to establish the volume of Chinese National Currency dollars in circulation. Most of these prognoses were designed to stress the urgency of stopping the spiral of inflation and to illustrate the assertion that current finance in this country is conducted mainly through the expediency of the printing press. Leaving aside the general implications of the rapidly increasing fapi circulation and its effect on commodity prices, industry and trade, an attempt will be made to compute the volume of notes in circulation by a method which appears to be the most dependable, next to consulting the records of the note-issuing authority.

First, there is the official estimate of the note issue to date. It is said that the note issue in 1937 was CNC$1,400,000,000; in 1945 CNC$-1,000,000,000,000; and by the end of 1946 CNC$4,000,000,000,000. Finally, Finance Minister O. K. Yui told the People's Political Council that the note issue amounted to slightly more than CNC$6,000,000,000,000 by May, 1947.

Then comes an unofficial estimate, slightly lower than Minister Yui's, made by the *Hsin Min Pao*, last April. The paper said that note issue came to CNC$1,800,000,000,000 by end the of 1946, and that it would swell to CNC$5,600,000,000,000 by the end of 1947. Obviously, if the official figure is higher than the foregoing, the *Hsin Min Pao* estimate could be considered erroneous.

Top Figure 55 Trillion

Next in order of estimation comes the *Wen Wei Pao*, whose Wang Chen placed the note issue at CNC$55,000,000,000,000. This economist based his calculation on the assumption that 41 different kinds of notes were fully issued from the A to Z combination. Considering, however, that not all issues could have been printed to their full letter combinations, the *Wen Wei Pao* figure could be considered too high.

The *Fei Pao* treated Minister Yui's CNC$6,000,000,000,000 figure as a "big joke." Basing its computation on the idle capital in the city, the paper did not mention any alternative. The *Economic Critic* earlier placed the total idle capital in the country at CNC$4,000,000,000,000, a volume which would give ground for the assertion that the official figure on note issue to date is somewhat lower than in fact.

The above are the few attempts to approximate the fapi note issue, and to disprove the validity of the official figure. Other Chinese writers on the subject have taken the Ministry of Finance's figures at face value in their calculations.

It is strange that to date the most obvious method of calculating the total note issue has not been made use of as yet to determine a more *approximate* figure (approximate, because neither the COL index, nor the exact purchasing value of the CNC has been agreed upon in any two quarters, official or otherwise.)

League's "Stern Lessons"

The League of Nations publications on Economic and Social problems include an opus entitled The Course and Control of Inflation, published in 1946. Therein, the "stern lessons" derived from the inflation which gripped European countries after World War I are thoroughly analyzed, and among the many conclusions arrived at, the one linking the COL index with the currency in circulation index stands out as a possible "stern lesson" for China.

"In most countries the price rise lagged behind the rise in the volume of currency," it says in one of the chapters. "This is partly explained by the fact that many commodities ....were still subject to official maximum prices, (and) the indices may somewhat understate the true rise in the general level of prices."

It may be argued, again, that the development of China's economy cannot be mechanically compared with economic processes in European countries. However, it must be admitted that a given volume of prices calls for a definite volume of money, and a rise in the first inevitably forces an expansion of the second.

From the above it may be deduced that, other phenomena in the inflation process being "normal," there is a certain stable relationship between the hikes in the COL index and the volume of note issue. From the table given below, it will be seen that the volume of currency in circulation was always a little lower than the COL index, both in countries suffering from inflation in the first phase, and those afflicted with hyperflation:

With due respect to the official COL index compiled by the SMG, it should be pointed out that the China Institute of Economic Research placed the COL index at 18,361 by the end of March, while the *Ta Kung Pao* declared on May 28, that the "commodity price index compiled by an undisclosed organization," came to 32,700.

It should here be noted that the COL index as computed for the payment of wages and salaries is an arbitrarily selected index which has not much relation to the general increase in commodity prices which concern the population. The COL index computed on the basis of a few commodities obviously envisages an abstention from purchases of certain kinds of commodities, normally within the purchasing power of the population. Thus it is safe to assert that the actual COL index embracing all commodities is also an approximate *minimum* index for the currency issue.

45 Trillion Issued?

The total note issue in circulation by the end of May, 1947, would then amount to roughly CNC$45,780,000,000,000.

It may be asserted, as has been said in the past, that Chinese economic development does not follow along the lines of "Western economic development." But then, it could be asserted, likewise, that inflation has no business playing havoc with Chinese economic development. Obviously, inflation though an abnormal phenomenon in itself, develops according to certain laws which can be analyzed. One of these laws, incorporated into the "stern lessons" learned by the League of Nations, is that COL and currency circulation have about the same index.

In the above calculation the circulation limits of the fapi have not been considered, but the contraction of credit and level of banking facilities have likewise been left aside.

Relative Increase in Currency and Prices
(End of Year Data. Base: 1913/14—100)

	Currency Circulation			Cost of Living		
	1918	1919	1920	1918	1919	1920
United Kingdom	248	274	294	230	236	278
Switzerland	248	263	268	211	245	243
Netherlands	309	295	309	184	205	222
Sweden	348	323	330	238	263	271
Norway	351	374	386	264	291	335
Denmark	250	271	310	196	242	264
Italy	486	649	769	260	323	455
Finland	882	858	1024	588	819	1103
Bulgaria	1262	1670	1550	1234	1858	1919
Germany	503	760	1230	...	...	1158

If a similar table were computed for China, it would look like this:

	Currency Circulation (In billions)		Cost of Living	
	1937	May, 1947	1937	1947
China	1.4	45,780	1	32,700

"WHITHER CZECHOSLOVAKIA?"

By JACQUES DECAUX

(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Paris, (By Mail).

OF all the countries of Central Europe, Czechoslovakia is the only one to have emerged almost intact from the successive misfortunes of World War II. It is also the only country which, although located behind the "iron curtain," manages to preserve her democratic institutions. These two facts are exceedingly remarkable and worthy of further explanation.

The prime reason why Czechoslovakia has managed to remain democratic, unlike Hungary and Poland, is that, thanks to Masaryk and Benes, she was rid of her feudalistic regime long before the last war. Czechoslovakia remains a country where the citizens do not have an ever-present fear for their personal rights and liberties. It is often forgotten that Prague is becoming the main capital of Europe and that this city represents some of the most noble traditions of Europe.

Today, after long years of occupation and geographical division, Czechoslovakia is being reborn with the acquisition of full political independence. She owes her political continuity—and this is a unique case in Europe—to her juridical continuity between the prewar and postwar period, represented by Edward Benes. The Czechoslovakian leader saw, in 1938, the complete destruction of his work and hopes, but by a rare fortune was able to carry on his mission and profited by regaining his old prestige in the eyes of his fellow-citizens.

Between Rival Worlds

But although this country is much better off than most of the other European nations, she also has reason to be disturbed. Her geographical position is such that she finds herself between two rival worlds and consequently is bound to feel the reactions of their antagonism.

It will be remembered that after her national elections, which, by the way, were not controlled by foreign powers, the four parties of the National Front gave first place to the Communists in Bohemia and Moravia, whereas the Popular Catholics took over Slovakia. Therefore, a coalition government was formed under the presidency of Communist Clement Gottwald. But after a year of coalition, it seems that the union of the National Front is wearing out. So a very old problem, at least as old as Czechoslovakia herself, appears: the antagonism between the Slovakian minority and the Czech majority.

The danger of separatism was so strong that, last February, Edward Benes warned the Slovakian Nationalists that their efforts would endanger their existence. He told them that should they become independent they would run the danger of being encircled by the USSR with no resulting profit either to themselves or to the USSR. It is supposed that the Slovakians do not wish to have any connection with Russian economy. But they remember their sufferings under Hungarian rule and fear that they may suffer once again under Czech rule. The Czechs were aware of this very painful fact and tried to find a middle road between autonomy and a United Czechoslovakian community.

It is superfluous to point out that under the new conditions, Czechoslovakia's prewar international status has been altered. Prior to the war she was more inclined towards the Western democracies. Nowadays, in the terms of Benes' declaration, she is "turned towards the country best able to insure her security," in other words, Soviet Russia.

Aggression Feared

But apart from any peculiar sympathy towards the USSR, Czechoslovakia is well aware that if she remains outside of the Soviet sphere of influence, her national integrity will, for the second time, certainly be subject to German aggression. This time Czechoslovakia would not enjoy being in this position, as the Sudetens of German nationality have been sent back to Germany from this bone of contention, which was the Sudetenland in 1938. Their emigration has been a rather rough affair and if the country cannot be claimed any longer on ethical grounds by the Germans, the few hundred thousand who were expelled will keep a grudge against their Czechoslovakian neighbor.

To strengthen its strategic position, as its relations with Hungary are not of the best, the Prague Government signed an alliance with Yugoslavia and overcame its very recent disagreements with Poland and also signed an alliance with the latter. Relations with Hungary are particularly tense as Prague intends to expel some 200,000 Magyars from Slovakia in exchange for some 60,000 Slovakians who are in Hungary. The repatriated Slovakians are to be transferred to the ancient Sudetenland to take the place of the repatriated Germans.

But this move is being unenthusiastically received by the Budapest Government. One remembers how, before the war, the Hungarian landlords were angered because their estates had been divided by the Trianon treaty, and because families were also divided and some Hungarians lost their nationality and were forced to become Czechoslovakian citizens, whereas in their native country they were not even given equal rights with other foreigners.

But the main point is where the Hungarian Government is to resettle these returning Hungarians. In Budapest, they state that there is no room for 200,000 people, and besides, the economic picture is not at all bright. At the Paris Conference, the Powers decided that the Hungarians and Czechs must settle the matter among themselves, and gave them a six-month period after the signing of the satellite treaties in which to do so. Up to the present nothing has been done.

"Whither, Czechoslovakia?"

Putting aside these questions of minor importance, the answer to "Whither, Czechoslovakia?" depends on the amount of unity that the Czechs and Slovakians will be prepared to maintain.

The Tiso hanging did not help to ease the tension. Although the country is not a perfect achievement by the treaty makers of the 1914-1918 War, it should be assured of a certain amount of security under present conditions.

Are the Slovakians not abusing themselves by continuing to believe that alone they might be happier? This is the question we cannot answer at present.

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Religion Versus Materialism

By LEN JOHNSON

WE refer to your May 31 issue, containing an article by the Reverend Patrick O'Connor, entitled "Do Reds Respect Religious Freedom?"

The Reverend seems to feel that religious freedom is restricted by the Communist Government. Perhaps this is the case. What sort of restriction does the Reverend seem to be concerned with mostly?

His accusations might be considered controversial. To quote: "Nobody is ever prosecuted publicly for teaching or practising religion" and "unquestionably relative freedom exists in some places under Red control." However, most of the article appears to be a condemnation of the Reds' infiltration into the spiritual world.

Does the Catholic Church think it necessary to submit to, respect and obey the Communist Government's laws and refrain from adverse propaganda? Does the Catholic Church propagandize against the KMT Government in China? We think not. If they did, what would the church's position be with respect to the KMT Government. Does the Catholic Church propagandize against the Wall Street Government of the U.S.A.? Again, if it did, would the U.S. Government interfere with its spiritual propaganda?

Church's Privileges

However, the Reverend O'Connor admits the Pope's letter analyzes and condemns atheistic Communism. Why does the Church "favor" some Governments over others? We think the reason is that Catholicism, and Christianity as a whole, has more privileges from the above two Governments. These privileges consist of permission to own land, real estate, factories and so forth, and to charge rent, interest, or to operate businesses on a profit basis; in short, permission to exploit labor. Whereas, under the Chinese Red Government the Church seems to be confined to the spiritual world alone.

How much land does the Catholic Church own in KMT China? Have they ever published figures showing the amount of land owned by their missions or church officials? What are their land rental rates? How much interest do they charge on money lent out? How much land did they own in North China before the Reds took over, as compared to the present?

Would it be too impertinent to ask that information be given to the public on the above, or is this what is known as a "private," "spiritual" or "godly" affair—one in which only God's "agents" are interested, but which shouldn't concern His children. What is the world coming to, when "spiritual" organizations are interested in material things—or has this always been the case?

We materialists have been under the impression that Christianity's whole program is concerned with the business of soul-saving. Perhaps we not do understand the spiritual mind. We materialists are not particularly concerned with spiritual things—in fact, we do not think they exist. What we mean by material things is the universe—the universe, composed of matter in the form of solid, liquid or gas. We are of the opinion that nothing exists outside of the universe, that is, outside of nature. Man has, since primitive times, studied natural laws and acquired a good deal of knowledge concerning them. He has acquired this knowledge through the five senses, namely, seeing, hearing, feeling, tasting and smelling.

Source Of Knowledge

Of course, man has invented instruments to greatly enlarge the scope of these senses, such as the microscope, the telescope and numerous others. Nevertheless, the knowledge entered his brain through the senses. The knowledge came from his material environment, or nature, which we think is the source of all knowledge. Primitive man could explain very little about natural phenomena. Therefore, the unknown was to him a "super-force," not understandable. Hence the origin of "supernatural" or "God."

Since primitive times, man's experience has changed the relationship between the unknown and the known. The former has shrunk and the latter has expanded. Therefore, God's field becomes more and more limited. So limited, in fact, that in the scientific world, "He" simply does not exist. We think that man has created "God" in his own image, instead of the reverse, as Christianity claims. It is natural for man to think and imagine a force similar to, or related to himself. As one scientist stated: "If dogs had a god, he would be a dog." Is this the unpardonable sin of which materialism is accused? If so, we plead guilty!

Competition Strong

Now the supernatural or religious world is complaining about competition. Is the materialist competition too strong? The Reverend speaks of "short popular treaties against materialism, proving the existence of God and of the soul." What is a soul? Is it material, is it part of the body, can it be described, can it be experienced through the senses? Discussion of this question with Christians fails to give a satisfactory explanation to materialists. Perhaps it does not exist? "Oh, yes, it exists," they say, "but it is difficult to explain." We think it is, too.

Where did the idea of a soul originate? We think it came from the dream, which is the mind or brain reflecting during sleep in an incoherent fashion on past experiences. People have dreamed of experiences with relatives or friends, after their death. Primitive man's inability to explain this dream led to the belief that man consisted of two "selves," the inner and the outer. During sleep the inner went "out and about," had experiences, then returned before the sleeper awakened. The superstition at that time was that one must not awaken the sleeper too abruptly, otherwise the inner self would not have time to return and thereby cause the death of the sleeper. Here again, primitive man's inability to explain the functions of the brain, now understood by science, was attributed to something entirely different to what is now known as science.

We materialists recognize the right of religious people to propagandize their beliefs and ideas, but we also insist that recognition be given to the right of non-believers to propagandize. Competition is supposed to be the life of trade. Again, is there too much competition?

Pope's Letter

We refer to the Pope's letter, analyzing and condemning Communism. Why is the Pope, a spiritualist, concerned with matters pertaining to the political or to the economic? The spiritualists claim that their only interest is in souls. Therefore, material things should not interest them. Again, why should the Pope be antagonistic towards the materialist Governments only? We feel it is because the materialists insist that the spiritualists stick to their own field. Thus, it divorces them from wealth and property.

To get down to specific cases: The Chinese Reds claim that prior to their arrival, the Catholic missions owned about 2,000 mow of land each, and collected 50 percent or more of the crop as rent. Under the Reds, the Church's material "responsibility" has been reduced to whatever land its "family" can operate with its own labor. Due to the urgent need for land in China, the average peasant in Communist areas gets about two mow of land per person. We think, in line with God's policy of "non-respector of persons," the same justice should be given to the Church.

If the Church's "family" consists of, say, two priests, three sisters and a couple of brothers, at the current rate of land allocation, the "family" would retain 14 mow of land, and perhaps a mule, a plow and some shovels and hoes. Of course, this interferes with what were, under the old society, the economic interests of the Church. In the same manner, does not rent payment by the peasant, who has farmed the land for centuries, interfere with his economic interests?

Church Against Reform

It is quite evident that the Church, particularly the Catholic Church, does not approve of the Reds' land reform, or any other kind of reform. We think it is because Catholicism, the mother Christian Church and one of the most reactionary religions in the Christian world, is hooked up with, and part and parcel of, the exploiting class in China as it is elsewhere. It still believes in rent, in-

terest and profit, which the "terrible Marx" calls the "Holy Trinity of Capitalism." Naturally, a new society in which this "trinity" is whittled down, as in Red China, or abolished outright as in Russia, will meet with the Church's full "righteous wrath."

As to the Reds' accusations of Catholic collaboration with the Japanese and underground anti-Red Government activities after the war, there seems to be a good deal of evidence that these are well founded. Where there is smoke there is fire, and in this case it appears that the smoke is abundant. Now why would the Church favor the Japanese or KMT over the Reds? We have a hunch it is because the Church endeavors to protect its economic interests in land and property. Then is this immoral? To some, perhaps not, to the Reds, yes—it depends on how you look at it, it depends on whether you are the Church or the landless Chinese peasant.

The Church claims it is in China to help the Chinese in spiritual matters. Then we say it is unnecessary to poke its nose into political matters. Is the Church asking the Red Government to distinguish between Christian traitors and common, ordinary traitors? Is there a difference? Perhaps the Church would like to plead "benefit of clergy" as they did in the good old days when Church and State were one.

Non-Believers Persecuted

As to persecution, we refer to the Church's treatment of non-believers when it had political power and its persecution of science, in fact of anyone or anything that dared to differ with its official position.

The Church has, as one materialist puts it, "sold indulgences and still collects cash from dupes for services which neither it, nor anyone else, can perform." All professional religions collect cash and other property in the name of their gods, who get the glory, while their humble servants hold on the substance (the cash and the property).

At times their mercenary behavior becomes so apparent that it repels even some of their adherents. This was responsible for a slogan among the poor people of a certain country, who said: "High money, High Mass; low money, Low Mass; no money, no Mass."

Commission Named To Further Higher Education In Malaya

By NGIAM TONG-FATT (嚴崇發)
(Special Correspondent, The China Weekly Review)

Singapore, (By Mail).

NOW that the war has ended, there are many great problems facing the Malayan Government, such as reconstruction, rehabilitation of the rubber and tin industries, revival of business activities, and social welfare of the people. If it is true that the Malayan Government has made great strides in her economic life, it is equally true that she has also made improvements in her educational system. In this connection it is indeed encouraging to know that the members of the commission to inquire into higher education in Malaya have now been appointed. The following are its members:—

Professor W. J. Pugh, Deputy Vice-Chancellor and Professor of Geology in the University of Manchester.

Professor G. N. Pickering, Professor of Medicine in the University of London.

Dr. Ivor Jennings, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon.

Mr. Leonard Barnes.

Sir Han Hoe Lim, a member of the Advisory Council in Singpapore.

Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders, Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science, is the chairman of the commission, and Mr. W. S. Morgan, of the Malayan Educational Service, its secretary.

To Offer Recommendations

One of the main purposes of the commission is to make recommendations on the development of university education in Malaya in order to train the Malayan peoples to participate in the future administration of the country; thereby Malaya will be able to enjoy responsible self-government.

The Malayan peoples have learned with much satisfaction that the Colonial Office in London has now taken keen interest in the education of the peoples in Malaya, and that a commission has been set up to inquire into the possibility of a new university for Malaya. The Commission is to make arrangements for the creation of a University college, of which the King Edward VII College of Medicine and Raffles College will form part; and it has also been decided that the Technical College in Kuala Lumpur will be finally amalgamated in the development of a University of Malaya.

That Malaya was very backward in her educational system before the war is a well-known fact; and with the exception of the Raffles College, King Edward VII College of Medicine (both in Singapore), Technical College and Serdang School of Agricultural (both in Kuala Lumpur), there were no other institutions of higher learning, so students had to be sent abroad for the higher studies.

But the fact remains that very few parents could afford to send their sons and daughters to foreign countries for higher education. Should a university be established in Malaya, parents of moderate means will be able to present their sons and daughters with a university education. It is high time that Malaya should be able to have her own university—the foundation stone upon which to build a happy and wealthy Malaya.

During the Japanese occupation of Malaya many students discontinued their studies through no fault of their own; and not all of them now can afford to continue their studies. Mr. J. B. Neilson, director of education in Singapore, said some time ago that he would discuss with the commission the importance of adult education in a future university in Malaya.

Mr. Neilson will consider with the Commission whether it would be possible to provide extensions in the university for those who wish to continue their education but at the same time have to work for a living.

Facilities For Adults

The Department of Education in Kuala Lumpur, capital of the Malayan Union, is now planning to provide adults with educational facilities of different kinds; and such courses as the following have now been offered:—

(1) Commercial Subjects: — Shorthand, Typewriting and Bookkeeping.

(2) Science:—General Science—initially; other courses to be arranged.

(3) Technical Subjects:—Preparation for Inter B.Sc., e.g. Engineering.

(4) English Language:—Beginners, Intermediate and Advanced Course.

(5) Literature and Drama:—Study and Discussion Groups; Reading Circles; Play Acting and Production.

(6) Social Studies:—Civics; Social History; Law; Economics; etc.

In the colony of Singapore, adult education has already been introduced by the Department of Education early this year on a variety of subjects covering both the commerical and technical fields. Such courses as shorthand, bookkeeping, radio engineering, plumbing, electrical installation, marine engineering, structural engineering, quantity surveying and other subjects are being held to meet the demand of the people. Nautical classes are also held to train local candidates in seamanship.

Character And Culture

But we must not forget the other aspects of education—character and culture. Higher education will improve a man's skill and proficiency, but it may not make him good and loyal citizen. Dr. Noel Clarke, a former Legislative Councillor keenly interested in education, made the following announcement in the local press regarding university education: "Going to a university does not mean a study of books alone. Culture and other things have to be taken into consideration. Not everyone has brains but the development of character is important. University graduates hold responsible positions through the character they have developed, their cultural upbringing and their sense of fair play. That is the spirit I would like to see in a university in Malaya."

Business Slack On Local Marts; Money Situation Tightens Up

BUSINESS in general was slack during the week under review, and the money situation remained rather tight due to the payment of large sums to the Central Bank as subscription for the 36th Year Treasury Notes and Bonds in United States currency; Government sales of commodities; the approach of the Dragon Boat Festival, as well as the semi-annual accounts' settlement at the end of June. Well-informed businessmen believe that quotations and prices will not rise during the rest of the month because of the persisting tightness of the money market.

The following table shows the amount of 36th Year Treasury Notes and Bonds in US currency subscribed by the public up to the end of May:

Sale of 36th Year Treasury Notes and Bonds in U.S. Currency

Date 1947	Short Term Treasury Notes in US$	Equivalent in CNC$ (000,000,000 omitted)	U.S. Currency Bonds in US$
April 7-16	583,990	7.00	66,450
April 7-26	1,644,790	19.74	198,400
April 28-May 2	318,130	3.82	11,792,200
May 3-15	1,961,160	23.53	2,020,550
May 16-31	1,658,170	19.88	1,191,200
Totals: ..	US$6,166,240	CNC$73,890,000,000	US$15,268,800

Government Sales

It may also be mentioned that the government sold large quantities of commodities during the month of May. The China Textile Industries, Inc. sold 12,853 pieces of yarn valued at CNC$79,300,000,000, and 335,946 pieces of cotton cloth valued at CNC$92,200,000,000. Meanwhile, the Taiwan Sugar Company sold during the month 72,000 bags of sugar valued at CNC$25,200,000,000, and the Central Trust disposed of 539 cases of artificial silk, totaling CNC$4,700,000,000.

Stocks and shares ruled weak during the week as big operators liquidated their holdings and stock brokers paid their deposits and margins for 36th Year Treasury Notes and Bonds in US currency before June 15. Short operators were very active, with quotations dropping to CNC$5,500 from that of the high of CNC$8,100 for Wing On Textile.

With the exception of rice, cotton yarn, cotton cloth, raw silk, rayon and sugar, prices of other commodities fell but the undertone remained firm. The main reason for this situation was obviously the issuances of notes by the Government to meet its ever increasing expenses. The unfreezing of the cost of living index has brought to a certain extent, a higher cost of production and was responsible for the rise in prices of cotton yarn and cotton cloth. Many factories have found it impossible to pay wages according to the new CLI and numerous strikes were reported during the week.

Bonds Sold

The most serious and spectacular drop of government bond quotations was reported during the week when the authorities announced that bonds would be redeemed at their original face value. This statement caused a general liquidation of bonds, to which many speculators and investors held on for years with the anticipation that the government would redeem such bonds either according to the cost of living index or the commodity price index.

While the entire world is commenting on the resumption of Japanese trade relations, it is interesting to note that Japanese goods are already finding their way into China. Last week a consignment of Japanese goods, including 1,100 cases of rayon, 700 bicycles, 1,000 sewing machines, 7,000 drums of dyestuffs, 390 rolls of newsprint, and 800 rolls of cigarette paper arrived here. A Chinese Economic Mission will go to Japan to investigate trade possibilities in the near future, according to press reports.

The following table gives the quotations of commodities in Shanghai:

	May 31 CNC$	June 7 CNC$
Bonds C	15,000	8,600
Wing On Textile	6,960	5,500
Ewo Cotton	77,000	58,000
Rice	400,000	420,000
Wheat flour	130,000	125,000
Peanut oil	560,000	510,000
20's Yarn	7,850,000	7,650,000
Raw silk	25,500,000	24,700,000
Rayon	20,600,000	18,400,000
Ruby Queen Cigarettes ..	75,000	61,100
Koo Ban Soap ..	384,000	367,000
My Dear Matches	2,630,000	2,650,000
Newsprint ...	220,000	200,000

The provincial governments of Kwangtung, Kwangsi and Hupeh have approved contracts with Piernie, Lee & Company, permitting the corporation to establish gasoline, motor vehicle, shipbuilding, fertilizer, cement and glass factories, operate coal mines and launch irrigation projects, according to *UP* from Hongkong. The corporation is said to be a joint Sino-American industrial enterprise and its scheme calls for the importation of American steel, dyes, plant and industrial equipment to be used in industrial rehabilitation. President W. Bruce Piernie has been named senior economic adviser to the Kwangtung and Kwangsi Governments. He served in the Chinese Army during the war with the rank of general.

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On June 9, 100 percent utility rates increases went into effect, with tram, bus, city ferry and light railway fares hiked. Other increases affecting electricity, water, gas and telephone were made retroactive from May 21, with electricity rates brought to CNC$570 per kwh; telephone rates to CNC$5,000 per 100 calls; water charges to CNC$420 per cubic meter; and gas rates to CNC$1,200 per cubic foot.

NOTICE TO AMERICAN NATIONALS

LAND REGISTRATION FOOCHOW AND AMOY CONSULAR DISTRICTS

American nationals possessing land rights in the former consular districts of Foochow and Amoy (comprising together the whole of the Province of Fukien) are advised to apply to the land authorities of the districts where the land is situated for registration of their rights. The American Consulate General at Shanghai, which now has consular jurisdiction of the Province of Fukien, is prepared to assist such American nationals in securing registration of their land rights and information concerning procedure may be obtained from this Consulate General.

MONNETT B. DAVIS
AMERICAN CONSUL GENERAL

NEWS OF THE WEEK

Students', Professors' Strikes Continue To Protest Arrests

IN spite of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's warning that "the damages to our country and race will be grievously incalculable should the present strike in schools continue and should there be further deterioration of our nation's educational behavior," students' and professors' protest strikes continued in several major cities with manifestoes being issued containing demands for the immediate release of those arrested and severe punishment of the military officials responsible.

A number of the arrested students have been freed in North China, all on bail, but reports reaching here were incomplete and it was possible only to determine that not all of the arrested had been set free. In Shanghai, parents and teachers continued to demand that the seized students either be set free immediately or given a public trial. Mayor K. C. Wu told the parents of the detained students that they would be set free after the final examinations, while alleged Communist agents will be given a two or three months' "re-education" which, the Mayor asserted, was necessary to "allay any grudge the students might have held against the Government." He explained that during this period of indoctrination they would be lodged in a nice house with a garden.

The family members who called on Mayor Wu demanded the publication of evidence to justify the detention of their children. Garrison Commander Hsuan Tieh-wu attempted to clarify a moot point when he said that "wherever concrete evidence has been found against them, they would be dealt with strictly according to law."

The *United Press* reported from Canton almost three days after the June 2 deadline that the wave of arrests had increased in that South China city and that about 1,000 students and others are being detained. The Generalissimo's assertion that education was returning to normal after a lengthy period of unrest contasted with the resurgence of the movement to free arrested students and it appeared that fresh demonstrations and strikes were in the offing unless the detainees were speedily released.

Dr. Han Li-wu, vice-minister of education, revealed in Nanking that high military officers, including generals, have been arrested in Hankow in connection with the killing of three students and the wounding of many others. These military men will be tried by court martial for "exceeding their orders," Dr. Han said on June 7. On June 9, the Generalissimo told the KMT weekly memorial meeting that "the responsible military personnel have been punished." No details either of names or measures of punishment have been announced.

On the whole, according to press reports from Amoy, Chungking, Wuchang and other cities, arrests were continuing, not only of students, but also of newsmen. As elsewhere, no evidence was published by the authorities in Chungking, but the local Garrison Commander said that 55 suspects admitted being Communists. These were 42 students and 13 newspaper reporters.

The Young China Party organ, the *Chung Hwa Shih Pao*, protested editorially against the imposition of the nine-day censorship in Tientsin, while Hu Hai-men, Democratic Socialist Party State Councillor, said the party was planning to recommend that the authorities cease raiding schools and newspaper offices immediately. Another Democratic Socialist and minister without portfolio, Chiang Yun-tien, said that "many arrests were made unlawfully."

In Nanking, University students started a one-week strike on June 6 in protest against the "Wuhan tragedy" and have begun a collection from their food allowances to those who suffered as a result of the Wuchang University clash.

LO CHARGES LIBEL

LO LUNG-CHI said that the Democratic League is considering the filing of a libel suit against the *Central News Agency* for repeatedly spreading false reports about the league. He had in mind the *Central News* release which attempted to implicate the League with the Communist Party, and said that these reports might be a prelude to the Government taking repressive action against the Democratic League.

Lo said that the government's policy was "inconceivable and self-contradictory," for on the one hand it provided arrangements for League and Communist representatives to take part in the PPC, while on the other hand it permitted the *Central News* to spread false and libelous reports and arrested League members in Chengtu and Chungking.

The International League for the Protection of Human Rights declared at a press conference early this week that "the government has erred in issuing the Emergency Measures banning student demonstrations; that it should not have used military force against students and that it should not have carried out mass arrests.

Professor T. L. Shen of St. John's University, a member of the league, opined that the emergency measures forbidding mass parades were illegal and "could not be passed by the Legislative Yuan." Y. T. Wu, of the YMCA, said that students were forced to confess they were Communists and added that the student movement was the result of their aroused sense of right and wrong.

BUSINESSMEN AROUSED

FOLLOWING the unfreezing of the COL index from the January level a series of protests has been sent the Government against the allegedly too high index decreed. The Shanghai Industrial and Commercial Association urged the Government to order the basic wage level back to the 1936 base "in order to prevent threatened factory closures." It was said, however, that there was no likelihood of this request being granted.

Meanwhile, the Municipal Bureau of Social Affairs reiterated its regulations outlawing labor strikes and said it would "severely punish" agitators.

Premier Chang Chun, who drafted a new economic plan which he called "'fundamental, all around and permanent cure" for the economic crisis, advocated among other things the reduction of note issue. The *Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury*, commenting on his announcement, said that premier "takes in a dangerous amount of ground" when thus advertising his new plan.

OFFENSIVES CONTINUE

ALTHOUGH reports from the civil war fronts were somewhat scarce and incomplete, the overall picture was one of continuing Communist offensives in Manchuria, with the fighting severest around Mukden, Kirin and Changchun; in East Hopei; and a newly developed offensive in Kiangsu.

China Protests To USSR On Sinkiang Incident

THE Chinese Ambassador in Moscow has been instructed to lodge protests with both the Soviet Union and the Republic of Outer Mongolia over the armed invasion of Chinese territory in Sinkiang, according to Dr. Chang Yuan-chang, Director of the Foreign Ministry's Publicity and Intelligence Department. Dr. Chang declined to comment on the contents of the notes, and would not certify to the nationality of the planes which, according to Central News bore the Soviet insignia. Meanwhile, General Tu Ke-chin, Chief of Staff of the Sinkiang Garrison, urged that the Soviet Union's "aggressive ambitions" be stopped and local Moslem troops be disarmed. Gen. Pai Chung-hsi Thursday was ordered to proceed to Sinkiang following the capture by Outer Mongolian cavalry of the city of Peitashan.

What U.S. Papers Say . . .

MARSHALL'S proposal of a joint program for European recovery with the initiative coming from Europe had been widely commented upon in the American press this week. The proposal was generally approved. Arrests of students drew comment from the *New York Herald Tribune*, among other papers, while former President Hoover's idea of a separate peace with the enemy was likewise analyzed in many papers.

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EUROPE

MARSHALL'S asserton that the Russians were delaying the recovery of Europe was agreed with by the *Washington Star*, which declared that European recovery can be achieved in spite of this. The *Star* proposed that the French pool their economic resources with the Anglo-American zone, in other words, the paper called for the integration of the three zones, in order, "to tie in the German productive capacity with the needs of all the conferring powers."

The *Hartford* (Connecticut) *Courant* also stressed the need for initiative on the part of European countries in the matter of rehabilitation, adding that although the United States cannot impose its ideas on Europe it can always "encourage them."

The *Richmond News-Leader* asserted that America must do all it can to aid Europe, although full recovery is impossible without Europe's own efforts.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* called for a bold, forthright and resourceful program and said that such should not be drawn up unilaterally, for this is the business of the Europeans. "Legitimate pressure" must be exercised by the United States, however, the paper added, for otherwise there will not be the economic union necessary for the rehabilitation of Europe.

The paper said that "we do not abandon hope that ultimately the Russians, Western Europe and ourselves will find some way in which we can all live together to our mutual advantage."

* * *

ARRESTS

THE arrest of students, editors and reporters in China led the *New York Herald Tribune* to conclude that "it is difficult to accept the idea that wholesale arrests were justified. Only a few of those caught in the raids could have been Communists or Communist sympathizers. In addition, the Government's use of thugs and secret police in its attempt to halt criticism is extremely disturbing. It is distressing to see the present cabinet ignoring all fine words said about civil liberties in the past and forgetting the bill of rights in the new constitution."

The *Herald Tribune* continued: "There also is no reason to suppose that repression of criticism of the Government will contribute anything toward peace and stability in China, except for a fleeting moment. The demonstrations of students and the articles written by newspapermen reflect a deep discontent of the Chinese people. That discontent will not be cured by violence. As long as its causes exist it will find expression in one form or another—no matter how many men are rotting in filthy jails. As long as its causes remain, too, the Reds will take advantage of them to stir up troubles. The motives of the Reds may be evil, but the criticism of the Government they are exploiting is honest criticism and does not arise merely from Communist plots. If the Chinese Government devoted half as much effort to reform as it does to fighting the Communists, there might be fewer Reds to fight."

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SEPARATE PEACE

HOOVER'S proposals for concluding separate peace treaties with Germany and Japan led some papers to distinguish between the two, favoring a separate peace with Japan, but not with Germany. The reaction of the press was mixed.

The *New York Times* noted that none of the zonal divisions existing in Germany apply to Japan, "which has its own democratized Government," and that delay in signing the peace can only be detrimental to the country's economy. Japan's energies should be released through the signing of a peace treaty as soon as possible and there is no reason why the Japanese treaty must await the German one. The paper advocated a peace treaty this summer.

The *Washington Post* saw a similar distinction between the two former enemy countries. "Even after the signing of the peace treaty Japan undoubtedly will need economic assistance, the *Post* said, but "with the practical incentive that a peace settlement would give Japan, we would be far more sure of getting our money's worth."

The *Detroit News* pointed out that patience is a diplomatic virtue only up to a certain point and endorsed Hoover's plan in toto.

The *New York Herald Tribune* paralleled the Hoover plan with the "Truman Doctrine," calling both "the same deep trends in contemporary thinking."

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* also declared that former President Hoover has made a useful contribution to world thinking to check the spread of Communism, and, at the same time, to promote international economic recovery. "It is simply to stop bickering with Russia and other countries about reparations and to negotiate separate peace treaties with Japan and that part of Germany occupied by the American and British forces . . . "

The situation at Changchun, where the Government forces are reported to have recovered the airfield previously captured by the Communists, is said to have eased considerably, but the United Democratic Army, as it is called in the Northwest, appears to have taken most of the smaller towns and railway stations around the capital.

A similar situation prevailed both around Kirin and Mukden with rail communications severed for reinforcements which were to be sent to the Northwest following the visit to the front by the Generalissimo. In particular was the situation precarious for KMT troops in Kirin, when after about two weeks' fighting the Communists took complete control of the railway from Kirin to Lafa in the east, captured Hwatien in the south and later took Meihokow, the juncture of three railways from Tunghwa, Sian and Chaoyangchen.

Following the Communist capture of Pulantien, which was reported wrested back by the KMT forces a couple of days late, several other minor points on the line leading to Mukden were the scene of seesaw battles. It was not known in whose hands the stations were, but it was certain that reinforcements could not be moved along this section of the railway.

Another large Northeast city to fall into Communist hands was Faku, 60 miles north of Mukden.

The Communist *New China News Agency* said that "strong forces of the People's Liberation Army in Kiangsu staged a large-scale offensive on the Nantung-Haitung highway, between Yencheng and Funing, and captured five towns."

Civil war reports from official quarters were reticent, while the Communists, giving a roundup of fighting on all fronts from May 10 to May 20, claimed to have annihilated 55,000 Government officers and men.

MARINES LEAVE TIENTSIN

MAJOR General Samuel L. Howard, who was scheduled to fly to Nanking to bid farewell to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, upon "the termination of another historic achievement of the forces of the United States Marine Corps," will head the last detachment of Marines when they gradually leave that North China port over a period of 10 days.

AID TO CHINA?

REPRESENTATIVE George H. Bender, who earlier revealed to the House of Representatives that five divisions of American military equipment had fallen into the hands of the Communists, inserted a statement into the Congressional Record which asserted that aid to China at present would be highly unpopular in the United States.

"Apparently our State Department lives in such seclusion they forget American taxpayers oppose any further waste of American funds in China's civil war," Bender stated. He added that if America wished to settle the problems of China, it should present them to the UN.

Who's Who in China

GENERAL TSOH CHAO-CHOU, army officer and government official, governor of Shensi province; born at Hangchow, Chekiang, 1892; received preliminary training at Nanking Military High School; upon outbreak of First Revolution, secretly left Nanking and fought against Manchu loyalists at Wuchang

General Tsoh Chao-chou

（級紹周字沛甫）

under late General Huang Hsin; then returned to Shanghai and was dispatched by late General Chen Chi-mei, Tutu of Shanghai, to Huchow to assist in organization of Chekiang Provincial Defense Army; following unification of North and South, resumed studies at Paotingfu Military Officers' College and became a schoolmate of General Chang Chi-chung, commander of 5th Army; during Northern Punitive Expedition of Revolutionary Army in 1926, was battalion commander of Army garrisoning Chekiang and was first to espouse cause of revolution by joining Expeditionary Army, thereby saving province from ravages of war; when Chekiang Army was reorganized as 26th Revolutionary Army, was appointed chief of staff and assisted in pacification of Shanghai with East Route Army under General Pai Chung-hsi; retired in 1928 and took up painting; appointed chief of 2nd Training Division under General Chang Chi-chung and participated in Tsinan Incident of May 3, 1929; after incident, rejoined Central Military Academy and devoted himself to military education; upon outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities at Shanghai, 1932, was appointed chief of staff of 5th Army and rendered meritorious service at Shanghai; chief of Training Department of Central Military Academy; was appointed chief of staff of 11th War Zone and concurrently Commissioner of Pacification 10th and 11th District, Honan, 1937; director of new Recruits' Training Center and commander-in-chief of Hupeh, Shensi and Kansu Border Region, 1937-44; now Governor of Shensi Provincial Government; author: "The Preparation For War With Japan," drafted in Feb. 1929; address: Shensi Provincial Government, Sian.

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Overseas Chinese are at present financing the construction of a new cotton mill in Hongkong which is to be equipped with 120,000 spindles, the *Ta Kung Pao* reported. The equipment has been ordered from Britain and the factory is expected to be in operation by the end of the year. This new mill may be a serious threat to Chinese mainland plants as it may gain control of the textile markets in Hongkong and South China, the report added.

What Chinese Papers Say...

THE ban on the three liberal papers—*Wen Wei Pao*, *Lien Ho Jih Pao* and *Sin Min Wan Pao*—entered its third week, and the *Ta Kung Pao* remained the only impartial paper to comment on political events in an unofficial tenor. The *Ta Kung Pao's* efforts drew two or three "reminders" from the *Ho Ping Jih Pao*, somewhat similar to previous blasts against the three suspended papers.

* * *

CENSORSHIP

MORE than 20 months after V-J Day press censorship of a very rigid and meticulous character has again been instituted in Tientsin, the *Ta Kung Pao* announced this week. The paper's Tientsin office informed the local offices that although the censorship is called "censorship of information," its editorials are also subject to scrutiny.

"After the censorship, even if you attempt to polish up the sentences without changing the meaning, you get a warning," the paper wrote, adding that its Tientsin office was ordered to use only *Central News* dispatches together with the headlines provided. No dispatches are to be published from other parts of the country regarding students' arrests. This means, the *Ta Kung Pao* declared, that "the authorities have arrested people, on the one hand, and gagged their mouths, on the other.

"Who could have expected that the ystem of press censorship would be resumed in China today, and that it would be this kind of censorship!" the *Ta Kung Pao* exclaimed.

The *Chung Hwa Shih Pao*, organ of the Young China Party, carried an editorial opposing the "resumption of press censorship." The paper said that the resumption of censorship in Tientsin was "very amazing news, and one feels that it is even of a more serious character than the closing down of the three newspapers in Shanghai."

The paper, recalling war days, said that during the war newspapers were filled with *Central News Agency* releases, which being official in character, were monotonous, so that few people wanted to read the paper.

"During the past half year the Government has declared more than once that it has begun to conclude political tutelage and to take positive steps in preparation of the enforcement of the constitution. It has also more than once announced its determination to put constitutional democracy into practice. The Government should understand that the most important condition for constitutional democracy is respect for public opinion," the paper explained.

The Americans have a traditional respect for freedom of information, and the Government has followed a policy of winning their sympathy. The recent series of "rash actions" taken by the Government will arouse the dissatisfaction of public opinion in the United States, the *Chung Hwa Shih Pao* declared.

Everyone is imbued with a sense of insecurity following these actions in different parts of the country, the Young China Party paper said. Those who are in power should not misuse their authority, the paper concluded.

* * *

JAPAN

THE expression of certain views on the part of former Premier Yoshida concerning the peace treaty for Japan, in particular with regard to the southern part of the Kurile Islands, Taiwan and the Ryukyus, drew comment from the *Chung Hwa Shih Pao*.

Since the Japanese surrender, industries in that country have gradually been revived, the paper stressed, and the United States planning to aid Japan in her foreign trade signifies that America is doing all she can to aid that country both economically and politically, the paper pointed out.

In the eyes of the Americans, the Japanese have already accepted all the tenets of democracy and are filled with the democratic spirit. However, if one observes the actual situation in Japan a little more level-headedly, one will find that this is not the case, the Young China Party newspaper asserted.

"Are our American allies really ignorant of actual conditions in Japan?" the paper inquired.

The *Tung Nan Jih Pao*, usually called the KMT's Southeast China organ, writing on the same subject, recalled that in the past the paper had continuously reminded its readers to treat with caution developments in Japan. That country, the paper said, is following a policy of pleasing the Americans, opposing the Soviet Union and despising China.

Its economic policy has been one of obtaining assistance from the United States in reviving its light industries and resuming foreign trade in the Far East, while the domestic policy has been one of retaining clandestinely all the old and evil forces.

"From the point of view of the Japanese, the policies they have been maintaining in the postwar period have been a success. Japanese diplomatists have proved very crafty. Now they say they want to control the Ryukyus jointly with the Americans," the paper continued.

"We trust that the United States, which has always been friendly toward China, will not allow herself to be deceived and hoodwinked by the Japanese," the *Tung Nan Jih Pao* concluded.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Atomic Warfare

THERE WILL BE NO TIME: *The Revolution in Strategy by William Liscum Borden. Published by The MacMillan Co., New York, 1946. 225 pp., US$2.50. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

TWO possibilities seem to face the world —a world government or a third world war of unimaginable intensity. Since another global war may come before world federation, the author of this book discusses the problem of what the world, and more particularly the U.S.A., must face in the coming years. The title of the book repeats Mr. Borden's insistence upon the character of the next war: the country attacked will have no time to recover from the damage, no time to prepare weapons for defense or a new offensive. He believes that the revolution in military strategy, which comes with the use of rocket-borne nuclear bombs on a world-wide scale, may determine victory or defeat in a matter of hours.

Mr. Borden's first experience with German V-2 rockets came in November 1944, when he was flying a Liberator bomber back to England after a mission to Holland. The realization that military strategy has completely changed since these 14-ton German missiles traveled to England at a speed four or five times the speed of sound has come but slowly to the average citizen. The author believes the dangers which accompany this change in strategy demand the elimination of international rivalry. Nothing can be done to safeguard mankind from atomic warfare unless something is first done about national sovereignty. Already we have seen the difficulties which attend the working of the United Nations.

Yet, says the author, there is no time to wait for world government and international cooperation. It is necessary that nations recognize the change in military strategy and prepare to meet any assault made with the new weapons.

Mr. Borden clearly sets out his thesis and discusses each point: Cities and industries are obsolete as wartime weapons. Their work must be finished before fighting begins. Victory will depend upon quick elimination of the opponent's forces and stock-piles already in existence. The tactical potentialities of the atomic bomb demand that it be used for direct military destruction rather than against populations and cities.

A substantial role for the navy is envisioned, with its use in a dispersed system of rocket launching fortifications. The advantage of surprise and initiative enlarges the role of espionage, which under the new strategy is the only real defense against unexpected attack. Science has taken the place of geographical distance and population as a determinative military factor. War is no longer to be total war in the sense of every adult's participation. This decreases the damage to be accomplished by fifth columns and alien propaganda. Conversely it necessitates a widespread understanding of what the new strategy means.

The author discusses the relative abilities of democracies and dictatorships to take advantage of the changes. Advantage clearly lies with the dictatorships unless the democracies make legal provision for the new conditions. Diplomacy in the past has failed to coordinate departments of war and state in the democracies. In future war diplomacy may become one of the most important weapons of war-in-peace. Espionage the author considers will overshadow other forms of war preparation.

This book is not pleasant reading. Much of it would have seemed fantastic less than 10 years ago. Today it gives a sense of urgency; one world—or none.

Facts Of Life

NIGHT TRANSFIGURED *by Byron Vazakas. Published by The MacMillan Company, New York, 1946. Reviewed by E. H. Falck.*

THE poems of Byron Vazakas in his Night Transfigured are austere and, in appearance, prosaic. But this appearance is superficial and deceptive, a paved way for the series of small explosions whose sparks fire the imagination as the reader is carried forward by these measured lines. The terms of his metaphors are the little daily attractive and repulsive *facts* of our common life. Weeds and rusty iron, skyscrapers and clinics, music heard from discs—the commonplaces of *here* and *now*, of the actual factual moment, are brought into relation to birth and death, to suffering, hope and fear. Vazakas makes his poem of what oft was thought by us in our bewildering scene but what has, perhaps, been not so well expressed. "These fragments" he has "shored against our ruins" as T. S. Eliot has done for his generation.

It is natural that both Pope and T. S. Eliot are suggested by these poems, not because they are *like* the poems of either Pope or Eliot, but because of the sense of form. Mr. Vazakas is a classical poet in that he has evolved a severe but rhythmic line of his own fitting what he has to say like a fine kid glove.

These poems do not require a series of notes to provide the framework of allusion. Their background lies in the every day experience of sensitive city people — the comforting clang of the trolley-car to the benighted in a lonely place, the railroad terminus, with the impact of the crowd, the acrid odors, and the noise bombarding the senses and becoming inextricably united with one's personal emotions — this sort of thing is given form and so given significance. Again and again falling snow and rain unify discordant elements and the mind is eased.

Guides

RAISE YOUR SIGHTS: *A Guide to the Upper Income Brackets by Martin Panzer. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. 248 pp., US$3.00.*

ARE YOU TELLING THEM? *How to Converse Well and Make Speeches by Bess Sondel. Published by Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1947. 292 pp., US$2.95. Reviewed by F. M. Roberts.*

THESE two books are aimed at the person who wishes to make himself successful in certain departments of life. One is sub-titled A Guide to the Upper Income Brackets, the other How to Converse Well and Make Speeches. The two are companion pieces or guides to take you where you wish to go—that is granted you have settled upon your destination.

Personal advancement depends upon many items—one's own abilities, outside circumstances and a vast number of imponderables. Martin Panzer attempts to reduce some of these imponderables to terms which can be handled by the seeker of the upper brackets. Self-exploitation may become a delicate and effective art, he shows.

Bess Sondel's book on improved speech is a more ambitious volume, though on a less ambitious theme. The speech book is intended not only for public speakers, but for those who wish to speak effectively anywhere, under any conditions. One of the basic needs in all human relationships is shown to be accurate and rapid analysis.

Mrs. Sondel's conclusion that the best way to build vocabulary is through reading, especially reading aloud, has met the test of experience. She is entirely opposed to the writing out of speeches, urges that all talking be done from a well integrated outline. Successful speaking in public is dependent upon audience reaction, which demands flexibility and adaptability from the speaker. These demands her method is designed to meet. The author claims to give a new approach to speech—perhaps the newness lies in emphasis, rather than in new methods.

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NANKING-SHANGHAI LINE
TIME TABLE

72	4	76	6	8	78	2	10	12	16	TRAIN NO.	1	5	15	7	71	3	9	11	73	77
"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	II, III Local	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	II, III Local Exp.	I, II Nanking Throu. Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	STATIONS	I, II Hangchow Throu. Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II III Exp.	I, II Exp.	"Tai Hu" Express	I, II Triumph Exp.	I, II III Night Exp.	I, II Night Exp.	II, III Local	II, III Local Exp.
6.40	7.00	7.30	9.00	11.00	12.15	13.30	21.50	23.00	23.30	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	14.45	16.25	18.25	19.35	22.20	22.45	6.35	8.00	10.25	17.10
		8.55	10.16	12.14	13.48		23.27		0.56	D KUNSHAN D		15.24	17.09	18.22			5.28		8.34	16.05
	8.41	9.42	10.57	12.57	14.29	15.17	0.20	1.06	1.43	A D	13.06	14.33	16.23	17.36	20.31	21.06	4.39	5.39	7.10	15.19
8.31	8.48	9.49	11.08	13.04	14.36	15.26	0.27	1.13	1.55	D SOOCHOW A	12.59	14.19	16.17	17.23		20.58	4.32	5.19	7.04	15.09
9.25	9.36	10.45	11.57	13.55	15.35	16.14	1.22	2.08	2.50	A D	12.11	13.24	15.14	16.29	19.35	20.10	3.39	4.26	6.00	14.10
	9.42		12.06	14.02		16.23	1.29	2.15	3.00	WUSIH D A	12.04	13.18	15.08	16.21		20.03	3.33	4.19		
	10.31		12.59	15.03		17.09	2.27	3.13	4.05	A D	11.17	12.22	14.05	15.20		19.16	2.35	3.30		
	10.40		13.08	15.15		17.19	2.37	3.25	4.13	CHANGCHOW D A	11.06	12.09	13.55	15.08		19.06	2.24	3.20		
	11.38		14.00	16.13			3.56	4.29	5.16	A D		11.09	12.41	14.05		18.12	1.07	2.03		
	11.41		14.03	16.17			4.00	4.33	5.20	TANYANG D A		11.05	12.37	13.55		18.03	1.02	2.00		
	12.18		14.40	17.01		18.46	4.46	5.18	6.02	A D	9.32	10.28	11.44	13.07		17.23	0.09	1.07		
	12.25		14.45	17.17		18.53	4.55	5.27	6.09	CHINKIANG WEST D A	9.24	10.21	11.38	12.59		17.15	23.56	1.00		
	13.55		16.10	18.50		20.20	6.30	7.15	7.50	A NANKING D	8.00	9.00	10.00	11.00		15.45	22.00	23.00		

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"Tai Hu" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
KUNSHAN	52	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.			
SOOCHOW	87	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
WUSIH	129	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000.	19,500.	10,500.	20,000.
CHANGCHOW	168	14,000.	16,000.	7,000.	8,000.	3,500.	4,000.	19,500.	10,500.	
TANYANG	213	16,000.	20,000.	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	30,000.	16,500.	
CHINKIANG WEST	243	18,000.	22,000.	9,000.	11,000.	4,500.	5,500.	30,000.	16,500.	
NANKING	312	24,000.	28,000.	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	30,000.	16,500.	

SHANGHAI-HANGCHOW LINE
TIME TABLE

23	21	61	67	25	1	41	27	TRAIN NO.	24	42	2	68	26	22	62	28
I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III Ord.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	I, II H'chow Throu. Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II III Exp.	STATIONS	I, II III Exp.	II, III Ord.	I, II N'king Throu. Exp.	IV Mixed	I, II III Exp.	West Lake Exp.	II, III IV Ord.	I, II III Exp.
6.45	8.00	8.15		11.30	16.00	16.15	22.45	D SHANGHAI NORTH A	9.15	12.15	12.35		18.55	20.05	22.30	23.30
7.05	8.16	8.36	9.00	11.53	16.19	16.36	23.06	D SHANGHAI WEST D	8.58	11.55	12.20	17.20	18.37	19.49	22.13	23.12
7.49		9.46	10.29	12.38	17.03	17.46	23.50	A D	7.51	10.44	11.26	15.29	17.48		21.00	22.16
7.54		9.56	10.40	12.43	17.08	17.51	23.55	SUNGKIANG A	7.47	10.38	11.21	15.22	17.39		20.54	22.11
9.02	10.02	11.40	12.50	13.50	18.16	19.23	1.06	A D	6.35	9.04	10.13	13.10	16.20	17.54	19.25	21.00
9.16	10.08	11.50	13.15	13.58	18.26	19.33	1.16	KASHING D A	6.28	8.55	10.04	12.45	16.11	17.47	19.12	20.50
10.00		12.33	14.52	14.32	19.01	20.16	1.50	D YEHZAH D	5.56	8.14	9.31	11.53	15.39		18.29	20.18
10.31		13.18	15.56	15.04	19.32	21.01	2.21	A D	5.23	7.27	8.58	10.40	15.06		17.42	19.34
10.36		13.26	16.10	15.11	19.37	21.06	2.26	CHANGAN-TSENG D A	5.19	7.22	8.54	10.27	15.02		17.37	19.27
11.30	11.55	14.45	18.10	16.20	20.30	22.20	3.25	A HANGCHOW D	4.25	6.10	8.00	8.30	14.00	16.00	16.25	18.25

FARE LIST

STATIONS	Kilo.	I Class Ordinary Express		II Class Ordinary Express		III Class Ordinary Express		"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses I	"Triumph" Express, Nanking & Hangchow Through Expresses II	"West Lake" Express
SHANGHAI N. TO:—										
SUNGKIANG	45	4,000.	10,000.	2,000.	5,000.	1,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	
KASHING	99	8,000.	10,000.	4,000.	5,000.	2,000.	2,500.	19,500.	10,500.	15,000.
YEHZAH	126	10,000.	12,000.	5,000.	6,000.	2,500.	3,000.	19,500.	10,500.	
CHANGANTSENG	151	12,000.	14,000.	6,000.	7,000.	3,000.	3,500.	19,500.	10,500.	
HANGCHOW	190	14,000.	18,000.	7,000.	9,000.	3,500.	4,500.	19,500.	10,500.	25,000.

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